Daily Report

East Europe

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CONTENTS

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ALBANIA

Albania: Commission Bars Six AD Election Candidates *[POLI I QENDRES 12 Apr]* 1
Albania: Commission Said Justified in Refusing Candidates *[RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE 13 Apr]* 2
Albania: Berisha Said To Manipulate Electoral Commission *[POLI I QENDRES 11 Apr]* 2
Albania: Berisha Holds Meeting With Parties, Associations *[Tirana Radio]* 3
Albania: Berisha Meets With Rightist Political Forces *[KOHA JONE 14 Apr, etc.]* 3
Albania: Democratic Party, Human Rights Union Meet *[RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE 13 Apr]* 4

BULGARIA

Bulgaria: Zhelev, Kwasniewski Discuss NATO, EU *[PAP]* 5
Bulgaria: Deputy FM Views Yeltsin Statement, NATO *[TRUD 11 Apr]* 5
Bulgaria: Videnov Views Tasks, Contacts With EBRD *[PARI 12 Apr]* 6
Bulgaria: Ludzhev Points Out Dangers of Primaries *[TRUD 10 Apr]* 7

CZECH REPUBLIC

Czech Republic: Havel Begins Baltic Tour *[Prague Radio]* 9
Czech Republic: Military Accord Signed With Poland *[Prague Radio]* 9
Czech Republic: Havel on Disbanding Political Parties *[Prague Radio]* 9
Czech Republic: Parties Given Numbers for Election Campaign *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 12 Apr]* 10
Czech Republic: 6 Parties Strong Enough To Enter Parliament *[LIDOVE NOVINY 12 Apr]* 11
Czech Republic: Poldi Steel Bankruptcy Spurs Debate *[PRAGUE POST 5 Mar]* 11

SLOVAKIA

Slovakia: U.S. Law on NATO Expansion Without Slovakia Viewed *[NARODNA OBRODA 12 Apr]* 13
Slovakia: Daily on Impact of Politics on EU Integration *[NARODNA OBRODA 11 Apr]* 13
Slovakia: Military Assets Division Discussed With Czechs *[Prague Radio]* 14
Slovakia: Kovac Comments on Visit to China *[Bratislava Radio]* 14
Slovakia: Minister on EU Reaction to Penal Code Amendment *[Bratislava Radio]* 14
Slovakia: SNS Comments on Subversion Law, NATO, EU *[Bratislava Radio]* 15
Slovakia: Journalists Air Concerns About Proposed Media Law *[SME 11 Apr]* 15
Slovakia: LI Concerned About Development of Democracy *[NARODNA OBRODA 12 Apr]* 16
Slovakia: Arson Attack on Romanies' Home Claims One Life *[PRACA 11 Apr]* 16
Slovakia: Debenture Form of Coupon Privatization Explained *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 4 Apr]* .. 16
Slovakia: Siemens To Sign Nuclear Safety Contract *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 4 Apr]* 17

HUNGARY

Hungary: Foreign Minister on Relations With Belgrade *[Budapest TV]* 19
Hungary: Professionial Soldiers To Petition Parliament *[Budapest Radio]* 19

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

B-H: List of Pledges Made at Bosnia Donors Conference *[AFP]* 20
B-H: 'First Big' Reconstruction Projects To Start in May *[AFP]* 20

B-H: Report Views Planned U.S. Military Aid *[NIN 29 Mar]* 21
B-H: Izetbegovic Criticizes Silajzic at Election Rally *[AFP]* 23
B-H: Izetbegovic Addresses Election Rally *[Sarajevo Radio]* 24
B-H: Federation's Zubak Wants Izetbegovic To Attend Talks *[Sarajevo TV]* 25
B-H: Presidency's Kljuic Accuses Ganic of Usurping Power *[VECERNJE NOVINE 4-5 Apr]* 25
B-H: Ganic Refers to Muslims' 'Victory' at Brcko Rally *[Sarajevo Radio]* 26
B-H: Ganic Addresses Brcko Refugee Rally To Return Home *[AFP]* 26
B-H: Bosnian Croats Boycott Brcko Rally *[Zagreb Radio]* 26
B-H: IFOR Refuses To 'Guarantee' Brcko Expellees' Safety *[Sarajevo Radio]* 27
B-H: Muslim Security Service Arrests 2 HVO Soldiers *[SRNA]* 27
B-H: Croats Angered by Muslim Security Service Arrests *[Mostar Radio]* 27
B-H: Croatia Admits To Holding More Than 500 Serb POW's *[SRNA]* 28
B-H: Muslims in Mostar 'Have No Freedom of Movement' *[TANJUG]* 28
B-H: Silajdzic Elected President of New Party *[AFP]* 28
B-H: Silajdzic To Run for President in Sep *[TANJUG]* 28
B-H: Poll Indicates Silajdzic 'Favorite' Politician *[DANI Apr]* 29
B-H: Pale Serbs Boycott Tuzla Talks on Dayton Issues *[Sarajevo Radio]* 32
B-H: Steiner Says Karadzic 'Has No Future' *[Sarajevo Radio]* 32
B-H: Karadzic Aide Criticizes Brussels Conference *[SRNA]* 33
B-H: Bildt 'Would Gladly Pay' for Karadzic's Jail Expenses *[AFP]* 33
B-H: Karadzic Reportedly Celebrated Easter in Pale *[AFP]* 34
B-H: Serbs Claim Paris Conference Altered Dayton Accord *[Bad Vilbel VESTI 13 Apr]* 34
B-H: Serb TV: IFOR Troops 'Siding With the Muslims' *[Banja Luka TV]* 34
B-H: RS's Plavsic Discusses Elections With CE Official *[GLAS SRPSKI 11 Apr]* 35

CROATIA

Croatia: Granic Sees Entire Country 'Liberated' by Year End *[Zagreb Radio]* 36
Croatia: Bosnian Request To Visit 5 Arrestees Denied *[Sarajevo Radio]* 36
Croatia: Public Prosecutor Discusses Bosnian Arrestees *[VECERNJI LIST 12 Apr]* 36
Croatia: Bosnian Envoy Criticizes Handling of Arrestees *[Hanau NOVA BOSNA 12 Apr]* 37
Croatia: Tudjman, Gligorov Assess Talks, Bilateral Ties *[Zagreb Radio]* 37
Croatia: River Drava Accord With Hungary Not Renewed *[Budapest Radio]* 38
Croatia: Chief Investigator: Airport Instruments Not at Fault *[VECERNJI LIST 11 Apr]* 38
Croatia: Beli Manastir Serbs To Combat 'Defeatism' *[Beli Manastir Radio]* 40
Croatia: HND Official on Closer Cooperation With HNS, HDZ *[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA 11 Apr]* 41

POLAND

Poland: Kwasniewski Departs for EBRD Meeting in Sofia *[Warsaw Radio]* 43
Poland: Kwasniewski Interviewed on Moscow Talks *[TRYBUNA 12 Apr]* 43
Poland: More on Politicians' Reaction to Moscow Talks *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 12 Apr]* 44
Poland: Oleksy To Break Silence Over Spy Accusations *[Warsaw Radio]* 45
Poland: Former Prime Minister Oleksy Interviewed *[GAZETA POZNANSKA 2 Apr]* 46
Poland: Commission Discusses Report on Arms Trade Deals *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 12 Apr]* 47
Poland: Central Bank Head on Curbing Inflation *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 12 Apr]* 48

ROMANIA

Romania: Defense Minister, German Counterpart Interviewed *[Bucharest Radio]* 49
Romania: Reform Minister Comments on Privatization Process *[JURNALUL NATIONAL 3 Apr]* 49
Romania: Defense Council Holds Session on Crime *[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI 23-24 Mar]* 50

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

FRY: Lilic Views Country's International Position *[Belgrade Radio]* 51

FRY: Firebombings of Milan Consulate Officially Protested *[TANJUG]* 52
FRY: Denmark Recognizes Yugoslav Federation *[TANJUG]* 52
FRY: Italy Upgrades Diplomatic Relations to Ambassadorial Level *[TANJUG]* 52
FRY: Yugoslav Officer Jailed for Spying for Croatia *[SRNA]* 53
FRY: Republic Donates $10 Million to Bosnia Reconstruction *[TANJUG]* 53
FRY: Chinese Businessmen Visit Serbian Arms Industry *[TANJUG]* 53
FRY: Avramovic Criticizes Government Policy *[TELEGRAF 10 Apr]* 53
FRY: Campaign Leading to Soros Fund Shutdown Viewed *[VREME 2 Mar]* 56

Serbia

Serbia: 'Voluntary' Refugee Census To Begin 15 Apr *[Belgrade TV]* 57
Serbia: Refugees From FRY Republics To Be Registered *[TANJUG]* 58
Serbia: Minister Calls Kosovo Inalienable Part of Serbia *[TANJUG]* 58
Serbia: Belgrade Accused of Violations in Kosovo *[AFP]* 59
Serbia: Authorities Said To Harass NASA BORBA Vendor *[NASA BORBA 6-7 Apr]* 59
Serbia: Foreign Funding of Independent Media Described *[BORBA 5 Apr]* 59
Serbia: JUL Official on Plans for New Television Station *[POLITIKA 10 Apr]* 61

Albania: Commission Bars Six AD Election Candidates

AU1504085796 Tirana POLI I QENDRES in Albanian 12 Apr 96 p 3

[Article by A. Hasani: "The Ax of the Berisha Commission Falls on the Democratic Alliance"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Replies about the first 35 candidates of the Democratic Alliance [AD] came from the Commission for Screening Official Figures yesterday. The commission has not impeded the leaders Ceka, Imami, and Zefi, despite the diversionary tactics of the government press, and this has produced a sigh of relief at AD headquarters. However, as expected, Ceka's party has lost distinguished names, we believe temporarily, in this passage between Scylla and Charybdis, mainly people coming from levels of society that were most severely persecuted by the communist regime.

Not long ago, AD press director Prec Zogaj said that Communists will be the most privileged inmates of the political ghetto created by Berisha's Anti-Genocide Law; the former Red class will be nothing but a political corpse for display purposes, while the majority will be people from persecuted or disadvantaged families. The Zogajs themselves were the first to fall victim to this prophecy Prec Zogaj had made to European personalities. The many documents he submitted to the commission were not taken into consideration. Thus the man who lost the right to education under the communist regime has now lost the right to stand as a candidate. In fact, the decision about Zogaj came as no surprise to the public, while the elimination of other names well known as opponents of the government and of Berisha personally such as Ridvan Peshkepia, Frrok Cupi, and Perekli Teta has caused widespread surprise and indignation. Afrim Hoti, member of the AD National Assembly, and Pirro Zisi, member of the Presidium of the AD Tirana Branch, have also been eliminated. The Anti-Genocide Law, advertised as a step against the old Red class, has thus not spared either the founder of the first opposition press or the founders of the Democratic Party. It is striking that those banished include the two directors of the first opposition paper RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE: Prec Zogaj, the first chairman of its Publishing Council; and Mr. Frrok Cupi, its first chief editor. Zogaj said immediately to journalists at lunchtime yesterday, I am accused today of having practised genocide, as a person liable to the sanctions of the UN Charter for crimes against humanity. This is ridiculous. For the AD leader, such a judgement by the commission was totally illogical.

Mr. Gjergj Zefi, the chairman of this party's assembly, said Berisha is relying on the servile statements of people whose own position is unclear, such as Xhait Xhaferri and Adnan Beli.

Mr. Skender Gjinushi, chairman of the Social Democratic Party, supported his ally Ceka over the consequences for the seven-man commission after the elections. Electricity does not shock the first who touches it, but the last, Gjinushi said metaphorically. The same is true in politics.

For AD leader Zogaj, the story that has been concocted about his collaboration with the organs of the communist dictatorship is not even worth mentioning. I cannot make any comment about acts that had no connection with the way I developed as a public figure, Zogaj said. The commission gave no explanation to me about a large and complete file about the time when I was pursued by the State Security Service, a time when I was responsible for my family, my literary work, and my political conscience.

The commission has sent all the expellees on the road to the Court of Cassation, the last resort provided for by the Law on Screening Official Figures. The commission is entirely exposed to the consequences for the future, Gjinushi says, while not making any predictions about the fate of the candidates of his own party. The activities of the commission of the Palace of Files [reference to Ismail Kadares satirical novel against bureaucracy] will be the focus of debate. The Law on Screening Official Figures envisages that the law will not be applied to people who came out against the regime before 31 March 1991. However, not even this clause has prevented the government in its vindictiveness from disallowing members of the AD to stand as deputies.

The AD members who have received negative replies under the Law on the Screening of official figures say that they will hold a news conference today, and all of them will also appeal to the Court of Cassation, even though there is now no chance of them making the deadline for candidates and being included in the lists of the electoral commissions on 26 April.

[Box, p 3]

Responses After the Decisions

Frrok Cupi: I have not been caught by the law but by Berisha's vindictiveness.

Afrim Hoti: Let them publish everything they have about me; I am totally clean.

Ridvan Peshkepia: This is madness.

Prec Zogaj: We will win in court. There is no real legal way of preventing me.

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Perikli Teta: I never expected this. I have received no explanation.

Pirro Zisi: My documents are clean.

Albania: Commission Said Justified in Refusing Candidates

AU1404185996 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 13 Apr 96 p 1

[Unattributed editorial: "The Spies Brand Themselves"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Each of those refused by the Commission for Screening Public Figures had the opportunity not to face this commission. It cannot be believed that they had forgotten their histories of spying on their friends and others, or thought that the commission would allow them to continue their foul careers.

All of them knew their image in the mirror, and all of them had the opportunity of withdrawing voluntarily from politics, instead of leaving under the pressure of that most serious of tests, the test of morality. They had the opportunity of at least extracting from the depths of the consciences or their subconscious the chance to redeem themselves instead of facing public disgrace.

Each one of them who nurtured political aspirations should have had respect for politics, and for that reason, if for no other, should have found a way of meeting God with one less sin on his shoulders. They cannot have forgotten their victims. These are remembered. Their insistence on continuing to criminally stalk their victims is a characteristic of the most dangerous people in any society.

It is entirely incomprehensible that these people should not understand the era in which they have entered politics or fail to notice changes. They cannot fail to understand the moral principles of a society that is entirely different from the one in whose darkest corners they operated.

There is no reason for them to shed tears in front of the commission, or to appeal to Christianity. Those who were declared to be spies had every opportunity of avoiding the need for either of these things. There is no need to confuse their personal dramas with the operation of the laws that have excluded them from politics. The law is not illegal. Its text has been published, and some of these people have commented on it hundreds of times. Perhaps instead of commenting on it, they could have used their energies elsewhere, and saved themselves from public shame.

The Albanian state has continually aimed to protect people's morality, and to preserve everybody's dignity. However, a people of dignity cannot be maintained by people who trample on this dignity. This involves a serious distinction. Purging politics is one of the most important requirements for ensuring a country's continued security. Those who are on the lists of shame have done more than what they are accused of, because they have obliged the state to take them to task. Albania has not so much time to waste as these people on the lists ask of her. Albania gave these people time to decide, but they did not in the end respect other people and the country. They did not even respect their own profession, but disgraced it until legal coercion required them to publicly abandon it.

What is unfortunate is that they are not few in number. Of the two parties screened so far, a fair proportion of both parties' presidiums are implicated in crime. If one looks at the places they have occupied in the political spectrum and their legal collaboration recently, one can conclude that a political tragedy was being prepared for the country.

Albania does not deserve to be led by spies and incriminated people. It has suffered enough from dictatorship, and now needs prosperity. It has confronted thousands of evils and deserves the respect of its people, its politicians and its leaders.

Albania: Berisha Said To Manipulate Electoral Commission

AU1204075296 Tirana POLI I QENDRES in Albanian 11 Apr 96 p 2

[Article by A.K.: "Central Electoral Commission"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] President Berisha has played the last legal card left to him. He has announced the election date and at the same time the composition of the Central Electoral Commission that will supervise the campaign until the end of May. This is a dishonest act of this president-cum-party chairman, like many of his moves during the last four years. The Electoral Commission summoned by the president's wand is abnormal and unbalanced, and fails to reflect the real political climate created since July 1992, when the PD [Democratic Party] in fact lost that most widespread popular support in eastern Europe it had gained the previous March.

It does not take much effort to see how tendentious Berisha's choice has been. Nine members of the commission belong to the PD, i.e. the three representatives of the Council of Ministers and the six proposed directly by the ruling party. This is a greater number than all the other parties taken together, despite the heterogeneity of their political positions. Mr. Berisha has not

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deigned to give a single member to the Democratic Alliance [AD], even though the AD had proposed its own candidate. Meanwhile, this appalling head of state has pushed onto the commission parties that are not represented anywhere, in the hope that one day, if some battle of votes breaks out in the commission, he will have the little ones of the Albanian right on his side.

The opposition has reacted immediately. AD deputy Perikli Teta said he is not in the least worried by the composition of the commission. They have almost no power in their hands. The results are decided out there in the constituencies, Teta said. Socialist Party Deputy Chairman Hajdaraga expressed a similar opinion. The commission? It neither sows nor reaps, he said, adding that for the PS the election date of 26 May is the same as any other.

Albania: Berisha Holds Meeting With Parties, Associations

AU1304161996 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1230 GMT 13 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Radio correspondent Arben Muka reports that a meeting of about 20 parties, associations, and trade unions invited by President Berisha started at the Palace of Congresses in Tirana at noon today to discuss the current problems.

At the beginning of the meeting, President Berisha mentioned the role that these subjects played in overthrowing communism. It is a fact that there are changes in our programs, Berisha said, but we also have common and unchangeable points. Berisha mentioned the common goal for Albania to get a Western orientation based on the market economy and the establishment of a law-governed state, as well as everyone's concern [words indistinct] of the Red Front, which Mr. Berisha considered a serious threat to Albanian democracy.

The meeting then continued without the presence of journalists. The meeting is still going on, which is why you will get an expanded report in the following newscasts.

Albania: Berisha Meets With Rightist Political Forces

AU1504110196

[FBIS Report] Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian on 14 April carries on page 3 a 600-word report by Arian Cani entitled: "Marathon Meeting Yesterday Between the President and Right-Wing Political Forces."

The report states, "Berisha has taken the right with sweet talk: Do not strike against us during the campaign; we need to cooperate, was the essence of the message of the Albanian president's marathon meeting with 12 political parties yesterday. These parties, the majority still unknown on the Albanian political scene, yesterday found themselves in front of Berisha, Shehu, and Xhaferri, the main leaders of the ruling party. Cooperation to prevent a return of the Socialists to power was the evident purpose of yesterday's meeting."

The report continues, "The Republican Party [PR], Legality, the National Front, and the Democratic Unity Party represented the Rightist League. This group seems still not to have abandoned its decision on political alliances and coalitions. The PR declares officially that it will not make any alliance with any party before the elections, asserted PR Chairman Sabri Godo, who immediately explained after the meeting that he spoke on behalf of his own party only, which yesterday also supported the Association of Former Victims of Political Persecution, which was not invited to meet the president. Kurt Kola should also have been present at this meeting, Godo said. This request seems not to have pleased the head of state, who retorted immediately that 'They do not keep the laws and are conducting political campaigns.'"

Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian on 14 April carries on page 1 a 300-word statement issued at the president's meeting with right-wing parties in Tirana on 13 April, under the headline "Responsibility for the Future—Statement of the Meeting for the Union for Democracy."

The text of this statement runs: "We representatives of 12 political parties ranging from the right to the left-of-center of the political spectrum, two independent trade unions, and seven national associations and organizations welcome this initiative, aware of the responsibility that each of us and the forces we represent carries for the consolidation of democracy and its future in Albania.

"Convinced that the next elections will decide not only the destiny of the reforms undertaken following the overthrow of the communist dictatorship but will define the place of Albania in Western Europe and its integration in European and Atlantic structures, and determined to rescue Albania from a return of the past and the perils the Red Front represents for the values of democracy as a whole and the Western orientation of Albania in particular, we declare that:

"—We will coordinate our forces and efforts to conduct a worthy and courteous electoral campaign for free and honest elections with the largest possible turnout of voters at the polls in order to achieve a resounding victory for democratic forces on 26 May, in order not

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to allow the repetition of Eastern-style scenarios in Albania, which is historically a Western country.

"—We remain open to the possibility of establishing cooperation in constituencies in our mutual interest.

"—None of these forces will support the Red front at the polls.

"Our cooperation for democracy does not in the least encroach on the individuality and independence of the forces we represent, but aims at securing for each of them greater responsibility for the future of democracy in Albania."

Neither KOHA JONE nor RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE supplies a full list of the parties attending the meeting with President Berisha.

Albania: Democratic Party, Human Rights Union Meet

AU1404185496 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 13 Apr 96 p 1

[Article by Alban Bala: "No Room for the Return of Neocommunism"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Democratic Party [PD] Chairman Tritan Shehu welcomed Mr. Vasil Melo, chairman of the Human Rights Union [PBDNJ] to a meeting at the PD headquarters yesterday. They discussed the current political situation in Albania, developments on the threshold of the elections, the positions of the two parties, and present and future opportunities. The two parties noted with satisfaction important areas of common ground in their programs and viewpoints on problems of political and economic importance and relating to Albania's integration in Europe. Regardless of those items on their programs that differ in the way that programs of different parties do, they saw that they shared the common aim of supporting the political and democratic developments in Albania begun in 1992 and the achievements in the struggle to topple the dictatorship, in which the PBDNJ stood alongside the PD.

They noticed with satisfaction that they still share today a desire to continue on this path, as the only way of achieving our aspirations. They were also of the same opinion regarding the need to fully carry out the privatization process and to encourage the market economy as an essential way of accelerating Albanias development, opposing any tendency to increase the role of the state in the market economy. The state must encourage privatization, the free economy, and the absorption of foreign investments.

They also stressed their mutual readiness for preelectoral cooperation, seeing this as not only important to prevent the return of the past in Albania, but as an important prelude to more concrete forms of cooperation after the elections. Both Melo and Shehu expressed their great pleasure at the very positive developments in Albanian-Greek relations and were optimistic for closer cooperation in the future, to mutual benefit. They came out in favor of Albania's dignified integration into European structures, NATO, etc. as soon as possible. The meeting was chiefly marked by a desire to continue on the road of democracy, respect for human rights, minority rights, a desire to protect Albanian emigrants working abroad, and a determination to prevent any turning back. The meeting confirmed once again the desire for mutual cooperation between these two parties.

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Bulgaria: Zhelev, Kwasniewski Discuss NATO, EU

LD1404195796 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1210 GMT 13 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sofia, 13 Apr—The Polish and Bulgarian presidents have identical views on NATO expansion toward the east and integration of Central and East European countries with the European Union [EU]. After today's face to face talks, Presidents Aleksander Kwasniewski and Zhelyu Zhelev also told the press about their negative attitude toward a possible rebirth of the USSR in any shape.

President Aleksander Kwasniewski is in Bulgaria on a one-day working visit in connection with the second annual summit of Central and East European States organized by the European edition of the WALL STREET JOURNAL, which is held on the eve of the conference of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

"In our face to face talks we realized that as far as foreign policy issues were concerned our views were fully identical," President Zhelev said, expressing his satisfaction with the fact that "Polish foreign policy retains full continuity." This convergency, Zhelev stressed, concerns the Central and East European countries integration with the EU and NATO. "We share the views on how NATO should be enlarged. We think that no third country can set conditions concerning the acceptance of individual countries into NATO. This is a sovereign decision of every country."

President Aleksander Kwasniewski said that the "European integration must also mean opening to our partners in the East: Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and the Baltic states, because they are part of democratic processes and integration of our continent."

President Zhelev gave assurances that the Bulgarian side had taken steps to settle the Polish debt that has remained from the times of the CSCE and amounts to 124 million transfer rubles.

In the opinion of both presidents there is scope for greater cooperation in economy, tourism, trade, and industry in the mutual relations.

President Kwasniewski has invited Zhelyu Zhelev to pay an official visit to Poland.

Bulgaria: Deputy FM Views Yeltsin Statement, NATO

AU1504084496 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 11 Apr 96 p 11

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Irina Bokova by Mariyana Boyadzhieva; place and date not given: "Whoever Wants To Be a Diplomat Should Ask Experienced Diplomats for Advice"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Boyadzhieva] Yeltsin's statement confused many Bulgarian politicians. Have any talks been conducted regarding our country's possible inclusion in USSR-2?

[Bokova] There have been no talks regarding Bulgaria joining any formation. This has been pointed out in the statement of the governmental spokesman and the position expressed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

[Boyadzhieva] Could the case affect bilateral relations?

[Bokova] I hope not. I think that both countries understand the problem. In such cases, foreign policy steps often are influenced by internal political considerations. However, this is why diplomats exist—to neutralize negative influences and prevent unfavorable developments.

[Boyadzhieva] The government's position on NATO is ready. What are its most essential points?

[Bokova] This is a so-called individual document, which the government adopted in connection with NATO's study on its possible eastward expansion. In this manner, we participate in an intensified dialogue. This is not a Bulgarian euphemism aimed at obscuring the process that is taking place between NATO and the Partnership for Peace member countries. This document by which we expand the dialogue was initiated in 1995 during the visit of Anthony Craig, NATO's deputy general secretary. This essentially is a process of a so-called dialogue, which has already begun. It already received a green light, and it will continue during the visit of Xavier Solana, NATO secretary general, to Bulgaria in May.

[Boyadzhieva] When will Bulgaria apply for NATO membership?

[Bokova] It would be good if we could reach a national consensus on this issue. The problem is that the issue is being enmeshed in politics and ideology. It is being posed in an excessively simplified manner—"for" or "against" NATO. I think that the issue should be rather what guarantees our security better.

[Boyadzhieva] How did the scandals with some of our diplomats affect our country's prestige?

[Bokova] Unfortunately, Bulgaria's prestige has been undermined. This disturbs our work. The politicization is lethal for the conduct of a normal foreign policy and diplomatic activity. Scandals such as those involving our ambassadors to Bern, Elena Kircheva, and to the

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United Nations, Slavi Pashovski, should be absolutely inadmissible.

Our ambassadors must be aware of the fact that they represent a national rather than a party cause, and that they are subject to the same rules as all diplomatic employees of the Foreign Ministry. It is a lack of professionalism when an ambassador, such as Stefan Tafrov, Bulgarian ambassador to London, leaves his post without informing first the Foreign Ministry and the state in which he is an ambassador. Those are the elementary ground rules of diplomacy.

Whoever wants to be a diplomat and an ambassador should at least ask first. He should rely on people who understand those things.

[Boyadzhieva] Is there a place for political appointments in diplomacy?

[Bokova] Every state has political appointments. The question is when and how to effect them. A big and influential state can afford political appointments, but small Bulgaria must rely to a large degree on professionalism. The small state always find it more difficult to conduct foreign policy.

Bulgaria: Videnov Views Tasks, Contacts With EBRD

AU1204142596 Sofia PARI (Special supplement) in English 12 Apr 96 p 3

[Interview with Bulgarian Prime Minister Zhan Videnov by Vera Dzhambazova; place and date not given: "EBRD Connection Essential to Bulgaria's Euro-Integration"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Dzhambazova] Your Excellency, the Government of the Democratic Left has been running this country for more than a year now. How would you sum up that period?

[Videnov] Last year was our Government's first in office and the first since 1990 that the Left, represented by Socialists, Agrarians and Ecologists, assumed firm commitments through the parliamentary majority and the Government. We found a whole package of forgotten reforms, huge inflation, unemployment, crime, production reduced by half, agriculture in a critical condition.

During that period, we scored some undeniable successes. Inflation, which topped 120 percent in 1995, was brought down to 32 percent. Along with that we managed to stabilize the national currency. For the first time since the changes began, production grew almost 3 percent. Unemployment was reduced by nearly a third. Income erosion stopped for certain population groups. These are significant but not yet steady tendencies. We categorically intend to assert them in 1996 and 1997.

At the same time, we are pursuing a vigorous foreign policy. In 1995, Bulgaria became an Associated Country in the European Union. We are engaged in active dialogue with all European and Euro-Atlantic structures. Parallel to this priority of our foreign policy, we have normalized relations with Russia and most countries of Central and Eastern Europe. We are endeavouring to launch a number of cross-border communications and infrastructure projects, for which Bulgaria has the advantage of its unique geostrategic location. We are seeking energetic contacts with the Middle East and Far East countries. We aspire to assist the peace process in the Balkans through participation in the postwar reconstruction of the successor states of the former Yugoslavia.

Still, we emerged from our first year in office with some problems unsolved. Our crime control efforts have yet to live up to public expectations. Our overall information policy is inadequate, too. We have only started the administrative reform, which is intended to bring us closer to European standards and to shape an up-to-date civil service, more efficient and less costly to the taxpayers.

[Dzhambazova] What challenges lie ahead in 1996?

[Videnov] This will not be an easy year for Bulgaria. The forthcoming direct presidential elections will be the main political event. This will be the dominant topic in politics.

We do face several formidable challenges, and if we successfully cope with them success of the Bulgarian reforms will be guaranteed.

In the first place, I would cite structural adjustment, which rests on the mass privatization which has already got under way. A total of 1,063 enterprises have been put up for mass privatization in the first stage.

A reform intended to rehabilitate the banking system is also forthcoming in 1996. The Government already has a clear and transparent concept on the matter. The creation of a sound and efficient banking system will inevitably have a favourable effect on production. It is particularly important to carry out this reform in a way that would not only guarantee people's savings but will come out at a lower social cost.

Another serious task facing us is to maintain the central bank's forex liquidity in a year when Bulgaria is due to effect substantial payments on past debts.

One of our most serious tasks, however, is to sustain the tendency of production growth. It is in this way that

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people's living standards and the social sphere could be substantially improved.

[Dzhambazova] Prime Minister, what do you think is the role of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] for Bulgaria's favourable standing on the international currency and financial markets?

[Videnov] One task for this year is to establish closer contacts with the international financial institutions. Soliciting loans is just one aspect of these contacts, and one cannot limit oneself to that. Vigorous international contacts at different levels are of immense importance for Bulgaria.

Basically, what we expect from the EBRD is aid which will complement other international financial institutions and especially the IMF and the World Bank. Specifically, we expect assistance for structural adjustment and the financial sector reform. If the bank supports a definite number of viable financial institutions through recapitalization, technical assistance and expertise, the opening of new lines of credit and merchant financing, if it helps the funding of energy, transport, and telecommunications, the Bulgarian economy will improve its competitiveness and will get more efficiently involved in the European and world market. This is bound to have positive social ramifications. That is why I see contacts with the EBRD on a broader plane and would not limit them to loan aid for the internal state of production and the banking sector. To put it in a nutshell, our contacts with the EBRD are an essential part of our European integration.

Bulgaria: Ludzhev Points Out Dangers of Primaries

AU1204124096 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 10 Apr 96 p 9

[Interview with Dimitur Ludzhev, cochairman of New Choice, by Elizabet Dafinova; place and date not given: "The Primaries May Replace the Opposition's Real Candidate With Someone Convenient for the BSP"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Dafinova] Mr. Ludzhev, the formations that supported Dr. Zhelev's candidacy have set up a public political council. What role will this council play in the opposition's presidential primaries?

[Ludzhev] The important point is that the presidential elections have promoted the appearance of three main political trends in the country. The first is the left-wing movement centered on the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], which has not outlived its communist ambitions. The second direction is centered on the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces], which is relying on pure anticommunism. The third trend links together parties and organizations that want to establish a democratic and humanitarian alternative for society's development. Although anticommunism is a necessary condition in the struggle for democracy, it is not sufficient in itself. The Fascists and extremists were also anticommunists. Gradually, a number of parties, mainly those connected with the People's Union and New Choice Liberal Alliance, have found a common language and points of contact in their political thinking and agreed to help both themselves and Dr. Zhelev to surmount this barren, fatal confrontation between communism and anticommunism. [passage omitted]

[Dafinova] You have come out against the opposition's primaries and called them a "double trap." For whom?

[Ludzhev] When I say that the primaries are a double trap, I am not thinking of Dr. Zhelev. I do not want to mimic those who constantly write about his hesitations. I mean they are a trap for the entire democratic community. We have no right to assume the slightest risk of losing the presidential elections. The primaries may lead to a very interesting substitution. The idea was to find a way of reconciling the SDS and Dr. Zhelev. However, it is becoming increasingly clear that they are leading to the opposite. The primaries may result in the real candidate losing, and his being replaced by a convenient compromise candidate. Even if we assume that all the conditions will be above board, and the ballot conducted under strict rules, we cannot forestall the BSP, which may use its immense capabilities to manipulate the situation, utilizing not only its strong apparatus but also all the state posts that it holds in its hands. The primaries may serve to replace the real candidate, which is Dr. Zhelev, and thereby clear the way for a BSP victory. I am a practical politician, not an experimenter in political science, and I ask who wants this experiment, which carries an immense risk of causing strife in the democratic community and of allowing manipulation to the BSP's benefit.

[Dafinova] How can the BSP affect the real outcome of the primaries and manipulate them to its advantage?

[Ludzhev] This is no problem at all for the BSP's organizational apparatus. However, it must be clear that for Zhan Videnov and his clique it is a matter of life and death to win the presidency. This is the only way they can provide themselves with a political alibi and delay their inevitable political death, by distracting people's attention away from their incompetent rule and the disaster hanging over Bulgaria. [passage omitted]

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[Dafinova] Will New Choice nominate Zhelev in the real elections if he loses the primaries? This would be a violation of the agreement that he has signed.

[Ludzhev] I have no idea where this interpretation came from. I said that we would not sign the parliamentary opposition's agreement. I am guilty of enough voluntary and involuntary sins against Bulgarian democracy, but I cannot permit myself the luxury of contributing to yet another possible failure. Whether Dr. Zhelev runs again or not is a matter for him alone to decide, and depends on his commitments. It also depends on the new alliance and on the manner in which the primaries are conducted.

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Czech Republic: Havel Begins Baltic Tour

LD1404165696 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 14 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Czech President Vaclav Havel has left for a week-long visit to the Baltic states. Our Moscow correspondent David Stahlavsky reports:

[Stahlavsky] [Passage omitted] In Riga, President Vaclav Havel will meet all Latvian top officials. Trade Minister Vladimir Dlouhy and Culture Minister Pavel Tigrid will hold talks there with their Latvian counterparts. President Havel will acquaint himself with the Latvian capital this evening. [passage omitted]

Riga is at present a natural center of the Baltic region, and this is why Havel is starting his week-long tour of the three Baltic states in Latvia. He will visit Lithuania in the middle of the week and will end his tour in the capital of Estonia, Tallinn, on Saturday [20 April].

Czech Republic: Military Accord Signed With Poland

LD1304113696 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 13 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Polish and Czech defense ministers met for joint consultations in Vyskov in Moravia today. Security, in particular intergration into West European security structures, dominated the morning part of the talks. The two ministers consider entry into the North Atlantic alliance as each country's private matter. However, cooperation is beneficial in weapon standardization.

According to Minister Holan, cooperation with Poland is particularly important because of the two countries' very close position due to their history.

The defense ministers, Stanislaw Dobrzanski and Vilem Holan, then signed an agreement on military cooperation, which should include close cooperation in modernizing the two Armies' weaponry. Both Poland and the Czech Republic are considering purchasing the same type of fighter aircraft. This should give them not only better purchasing conditions but also better conditions for joint production. This is likely to concern about 300 machines in all.

Czech Republic: Havel on Disbanding Political Parties

LD1404180896 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1215 GMT 14 Apr 96

[Interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by Zuzana Vatockova; place and date not given—recorded; from the "Conversations at Lany" weekly program]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[Vatockova] The Party of Czechoslovak Communists is running in the elections as No. 9. Last week, on Wednesday [10 April], the government discussed the disbanding of this party, and, at the end of the debate, Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus said that every government was formed through competition between political parties, and, therefore, the government was not entitled to exclude any political parties from such a competition. Do you agree with his view? [passage omitted]

[Havel] The government has no right to disband any political party. The government is merely entitled to submit a proposal to the Supreme Court calling for such a disbanding. The decision is made by the Supreme Court. The government has debated this matter on several occasions. From a psychological point of view, I fully understand the government's attitude; being composed of political parties it is not inclined to propose the disbanding of another party.

I also have the right to put forward to the Supreme Court a proposal to disband a party, and I am entitled to use this right at any time. However, I am not about to put forward such a proposal, at least not before the elections. This does not mean that the matter of the party led by [Miroslav] Stepan [Prague hardline communist boss in 1989] is closed once and for all, solved, taken from the agenda, and over and done with.

I think there is a more profound and fundamental theme hidden here—that of the ability, the extent, and the methods of a democratic state to defend the constitutional and democratic foundations and principles on which it is based against those who reject these principles or question them.

Various reports that have reached me about the party in question, including the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the class struggle, function as warning signals. Despite the fact that this party is microscopic and probably insignificant, we should not underestimate such things because history teaches us how frequently such a marginal and ad hoc group is able to gain importance and a realistic footing in political life—unless the democratic system is capable of defending itself against such groups.

This is why I do not consider this matter to be closed once and for all. I see it as an open matter and will continue to pay attention to it. I shall see in due time whether I need to take any steps.

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Naturally, it would be better if, instead of using legal means to try to achieve the banning of this party, the society itself sees this party as some sort of an alien element in its organism, a dangerous element, a virus, or a germ, and eliminates such dangerous and extreme forces from our public life by applying its political norms and taking a certain stance in the elections. If this is not the case, there is always a legal option open to us, and, as I have told you, I do not intend to take any steps just now, but I do intend to follow up this problem.

[Vatockova] [Passage omitted] Last week you received a group of residents from U Sabotu village who do not want their village to become a component part of the Slovak Republic [in exchange for territory elsewhere]. One of the residents said he wanted to appeal to you to say a word in parliament on their behalf. What can a president do for citizens in such a case?

[Havel] In my view, this is a matter of crucial as well as general importance. It represents a clash between state interests and the interests and human destinies of individual citizens.

I fully empathize with those people, and I understand a person who has been living in a particular village all his life, has made it his home, has his roots there. [passage omitted]

I understand this. On the other hand, it is obvious that the border has to be drawn somewhere and that it must be based on an agreement between the two states. [passage omitted]

This is the essence of the conflict. We should all of us be aware of this. [passage omitted]

We should never forget that the solution to this problem will affect the lives of individual people. There need not be many such people, but they are citizens just like anyone else. We must not forget about the unique human destiny because of the macroeconomic interests of the state as a whole—the very state that, in the end, should serve the individual citizen. We should be aware of that.

Of course, I could not promise the [U Sabotu] residents that I would fight for their personal interests against the interests of the state. Nor could I promise them to speak in parliament on their behalf. I could only tell them that, if the border were drawn in such a way that U Sabotu village belongs to the Slovak Republic, they would be the people who would have to make sacrifices because of the fact that the two countries had split. I also told them that they were not the only people to whom it means some kind of sacrifice. The split has touched all of us who wanted to live in a unitary Czechoslovakia. We also had to come to terms with the fact that there will be two states, and some of us find this quite hard. [passage omitted]

Czech Republic: Parties Given Numbers for Election Campaign

AU1304152796 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 12 Apr 96 pp 1-2

[Article by "(kdr)": "The Parties Drew Lots for the Numbers With Which They Will Go Into the Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Representatives from the 20 political parties that will campaign for the citizens' votes in the coming parliamentary elections yesterday drew lots for the numbers under which the parties will appear.

The representative of the Civic Democratic Party was the first to make the draw. He drew No. 3 for the party that is, according to the polls, the election favorite. The social democrats, the second strongest party, will go into the elections with No. 2.

The draw bestowed No. 15 on the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia; the ballot papers of the People's Party will be marked with No. 10; the Civic Democratic Alliance will go into the elections with No. 8; Sladek's republicans will have No. 17; and the Left Bloc, which is, according to the polls, just above the 5-percent threshold necessary for entry into the Chamber of Deputies, will go into the elections with No. 18.

Apart from drawing the election numbers, the Central Electoral Commission confirmed the decision made last week by the North Moravian Regional Electoral Commission to invalidate the Green Party's North Moravian list of candidates. The Greens, who did not state their dates of birth on the document, now have one more chance in the Supreme Court. If it does not acknowledge their objections, they will be unable to campaign in North Moravia.

The Commission also settled the argument over whether the Free Democrats-Liberal National Social Party [SD-LSNS] is a party or a coalition. Even though this entity has, on the basis of an agreement, incorporated members of the Party of Entrepreneurs, Tradesmen, and Farmers into its lists of candidates, the Electoral Commission considers it to be a party. "The lawyers on the Commission insisted that it is a coalition. But the opposite view prevailed in the ballot by five votes," said Ales Kaspar, the representative of the People's Party. This verdict means that the SD-LSNS will need not 7 percent, but just 5 percent of the vote to get into parliament.

The Commission also crossed off from the lists of candidates another 15 or so candidates from various

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parties who were, for example, slated on two lists of candidates or are too young, according to the law, to run in the elections.

The Numbers With Which the Parties Will Go Into the Elections

1. Free Democrats-Liberal National Social Party
2. Czech Social Democratic Party
3. Civic Democratic Party
4. Right Bloc
5. Independents
6. Moravian National Party-Movement for Silesian-Moravian Unification
7. Democratic Union
8. Civic Democratic Alliance
9. Party of Czechoslovak Communists
10. Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party
11. Pensioners for a Secure Life
12. Party of the Democratic Left
13. Bohemian-Moravian Union of the Center
14. Czech Right
15. Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia
16. Green Party
17. Association for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia
18. Left Bloc
19. Movement for Self-Governing Moravia and Silesian-Moravian National Unification
20. Nationwide Caucus of Citizens

Czech Republic: 6 Parties Strong Enough To Enter Parliament

AU1504080496 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 12 Apr 96 p 3

[CTK report: "Factum: Six Parties Will Get Into Parliament"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Some 25.9 percent of the electorate would vote for the Civic Democratic Party, 15.1 percent would vote for the Czech Social Democratic Party, and 8.6 percent would vote for the Civic Democratic Alliance. Furthermore, according to a poll conducted by the Factum agency in February and March, the Association for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia would win 7.7 percent of the vote, the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia 6.4 percent, and the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party 6.3 percent. The Left Bloc with 4.9 percent, the Pensioners for a Secure Life with 3.8 percent, the Green Party with 3.3 percent, the Democratic Union with 2.8 percent, and the Free Democrats-Liberal National Social Party with 2.1 percent of support would not cross the 5-percent threshold necessary for entry into parliament.

Czech Republic: Poldi Steel Bankruptcy Spurs Debate

96CH0070A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 5 Mar 96 p 3

[Article by Michele Legge: "Accusations Fly Over Poldi Privatization"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] As the government's privatization of the Poldi Ocel steelworks continues to unravel, economic officials are blaming each other for striking a faulty deal with the steelmaker's mercurial owner, Vladimir Stehlik.

To make matters worse, the steel mill's massive work force is planning to protest bankruptcy proceedings filed against their employer.

"The mistake (in the privatization of Poldi) lies in a bad contract," said National Property Fund (FNM) spokesman Milos Ruzicka. He said the fund is pursuing criminal charges in connection with the contract, because it does not conform to the conditions of the tender process.

During a debate on Czech TV, FNM Chairman Roman Ceska said he suspected that "the whole contract was drawn up for Bohemia Art (the precent major shareholder, owned by Stehlik) to pay less and get more."

The contract was signed in February 1994 by representatives of Bohemia Art and the steelworks' former management, now known as Holding Kladno. Because Holding Kladno is managed by the FNM, Ceska pointed a finger of blame at his predecessor, Tomas Jezek, for allowing the terms of the contract to pass.

Ceska told news agency CTK that the former managers of the FNM made a mistake by approving a contract that was different from the one announced in the public tender.

Jezek maintains that problems with the contract are not his fault. "I reject any responsibility—ask the Ministry of Industry and Trade and the Ministry of Privatization," which approved the private sale of the steelworks, Jezek said.

Industry and Trade Minister Vladimir Dlouhy told CTK that the whole Czech government is responsible for the way in which Poldi Steel was privatized. Privatization Minister Jiri Skalicky was unavailable for comment.

Although Ruzicka would not elaborate on the specific mistakes that appear in the contract, he admitted that part of the problem was that the payments for the

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steelworks were not evenly distributed. "One of the reasons we are taking this to court is that (Bohemia Art) paid for a 38-percent stake and received 54 percent," he explained.

A spokesperson for Holding Kladno argued that the present problems don't lie with the contract. "The entire blame lies with Bohemia Art, as it did not fulfill the payment plan," the spokesperson said.

Bohemia Art, a private company owned by Stehlik, won the rights eventually to buy 66 percent of the steelworks after winning a public tender in October 1993. Ruzicka explained that Bohemia Art won because it offered the best long-term business plan and the most money.

"Unfortunately, (Stehlik's) financial position wasn't examined," Ruzicka admitted.

Stehlik agreed to pay 1.75 billion Kc (about $60 million) for 66 percent of Poldi, 1 billion Kc higher than any other offer. He managed to pay 1 billion Kc of the purchase agreement, financed mainly by loans from the state-owned Komercni banka. Bohemia Art's debt to Komercni banka now stands at around 3 billion Kc.

Bohamia Art owns 55 percent of the steelworks, but it hit a snag early in 1996 when it failed to find a financer to provide it with the 746 million Kc required for the final payment.

Several of Poldi's largest creditors, including Holding Kladno, to which Bohemia Art owes the 746 million Kc payment, have since filed bankruptcy action against Poldi. In reaction to this, Stehlik's son Marco has announced that Poldi will file around 30 bankruptcy petitions against companies that owe it money.

Furthermore, an employees' crisis unit has formed to address the fate of the workers at Poldi. The steel mill directly employs over 6,500 workers, and it is estimated that half of the city of Kladno relies on Poldi for work. One of the demands of the crisis unit is that the government release a statement that would dispel the rising fear of Poldi's present clients.

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Slovakia: U.S. Law on NATO Expansion Without Slovakia Viewed

AU1304152996 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 12 Apr 96 pp 1, 6

[Article by "lp": "Only Three Countries Into NATO? Congressmen Are Prepared To Modify Their Position on the Slovak Republic"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

Statement by the Embassy of the Slovak Republic in Washington

In a telephone interview for NARODNA OBRODA yesterday, the Slovak Embassy in Washington confirmed that speaking about the Slovak Republic dropping out of NATO [as published] would be premature in this phase. To this day President Bill Clinton has not personally identified the leading states for NATO enlargement because this could supposedly discourage further candidates from the reform movement. In its response to information about NATO's enlargement without Slovakia, for which we asked yesterday, the Slovak Embassy in the United States states that speaking about the Slovak Republic dropping out of NATO would be premature because the process of approving new members of the alliance in the House of Representatives will be protracted and, in accordance with the American legislative process, the Senate will have the final word. The delegation of U.S. experts that visited Slovakia is prepared to modify its position on the basis of findings acquired in the Slovak Republic.

As we learned further, the bill of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress on NATO's enlargement, the NATO Expansion Act of 1996 [preceding five words in English], was prepared in the House by 21 February 1996, but its discussion in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has not yet started. This bill is based on two previously approved Congress initiatives: the NATO Participation Act [preceding three words in English] of 1994 and the NATO Participation Act Amendments [preceding four words in English] of 1995, which authorized the President to provide U.S. aid to leading countries seeking NATO membership. Both proposals specifically named the Visegrad Four countries and the 1995 act set financial quotas for them ($20 million annually for Poland, $10 million for the Czech Republic, and $5 million each for Slovakia and Hungary).

Slovakia: Daily on Impact of Politics on EU Integration

AU1504115296 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 11 Apr 96 p 9

[Commentary by Julius Gembicky: "Is There Still Going To Be Dialogue in Brussels?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Following the conclusion of the constituent session of the joint parliamentary committee of the European Union (EU)-Slovak Republic at the end of November last year, Slovak delegation chairman Augustin Maria Huska—despite the chilling screen of demarches and the European Parliament (EP) resolution, which accompanied the discussion in the National Council of the Slovak Republic—contentedly observed: "The absolute preponderance of trust was manifested, and I am convinced that there is enough will and determination for self-improvement on the part of Slovakia."

Three months later government diplomacy referred to the aforementioned warnings to Slovakia before the ratification of the Slovak-Hungarian treaty only as of a long bygone past. Slovakia plastered the world with billboards reporting its macroeconomic successes, and at once appeared in the postdemarche period with equal, if not better, prospects and expectations for being admitted to the EU as the Czech Republic, Poland, or Hungary. According to government ideas, the only thing left for Slovakia to do to achieve the perfect image was to ratify the treaty with Hungary. Nevertheless, together with the one favorable signal, we sent to the world on the last Tuesday in March also one unpleasant, even contrary, one. The EU expressed its concerns over the adoption of the Penal Code (TZ) amendment. The reaction was—as after every cold shower—an offended one.

According to the original agreement, the next session of the joint parliamentary committee of the European Union (EU)-Slovak Republic is to take place in Brussels on 22-23 April. It is precisely at this meeting—if the session is not postponed—that A.M. Huska, head of the permanent mission of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, should submit to H. Boesch, chairman of the EP mission, an account of what of the closing statement and recommendations of the constituent session we managed to implement. The ratification of the Slovak-Hungarian treaty will undoubtedly belong to the positive achievements. It will be much harder to explain,however, how the adopted TZ amendment corre-

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sponds to the legal measures in the EU countries, while Deputy Prime Minister Katarina Tothova keeps talking about the approximation of the Slovak legal system. How is Huska going to justify to the Euro-deputies that while Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, spoke five months ago about the readiness of the Slovak Parliament to complete the bill on the protection of minorities and their languages in a very short time, this norm still does appear even on the legislative schedule of the government for the current year.

It will be even harder for Huska to explain the continuing tension between the government and parliamentary representatives and the president of the Slovak Republic. What can they think about the ability of the investigative bodies, which have been unable to solve the abduction abroad of Michal Kovac, Jr., since August, and about the fact that in the period from the fall to the spring the parliamentary Special Control Body [OKO] could not accept a single representative of the opposition?

Will that still be a dialogue—or just a conversation between a deaf person and a mute?

Slovakia: Military Assets Division Discussed With Czechs

LD1104141196 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 11 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Defense Minister Vilem Holan is having talks in Slovakia with his Slovak counterpart Jan Sitek. Pavel Ryjacek has sent us the following dispatch from Bratislava:

[Ryjacek] One of the topics expected to be discussed at joint meetings was details of the division of assets of the former Federal Army, in particular, disputes over the division of archive funds. However, this issue has not been discussed yet.

The talks began in a constructive atmosphere and mutual agreement. The two ministers agreed that cooperation between the two countries is on an excellent level. The opening topic of the talks was integration into the North Atlantic alliance. Jan Sitek said that Slovakia has already handed in an individual discussion material reacting to a study on NATO's enlargement. The military part of the talks focused on transformation [of armies] and logistics.

The agenda of the two delegations' talks also includes the signing of two protocols on cooperation. One concerns air traffic and exchange of information about the movement of military aircraft in the vicinity of the common border; the other is about cooperation in the area of topography.

Slovakia: Kovac Comments on Visit to China

LD1304182796 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 13 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] President Michal Kovac continues his visit to China. [passage omitted]

Vilma Bohunicka, our correspondent in Beijing, asked the president for an interview.

[Begin recording] [Bohunicka] Answering my question on how does he assess his talks with Chinese President Jiang Zemin, the chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference [Li Ruihuan] and the deputy prime minister, the president said:

[Kovac] I am very pleased to assess the visit, as all three talks were very matter-of-fact, sincere, and open, and they confirmed that both sides are genuinely interested in an overall development of our bilateral relations. I could see that both the president and the chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference attached great importance to China's relations with the Slovak Republic. This was also obvious in the words of the deputy prime minister who was speaking on behalf of the prime minister. I have invited the president to visit Slovakia.

[Bohunicka] Chinese President Jiang Zemin invited Slovakia to take part in the development of some of China's backward regions. Michal Kovac noted on the issue:

[Kovac] We are developing the idea that the Slovak Republic could get involved in a particular region of one of the less-developed provinces, where it is necessary to do everything—beginning with projects and ending with their realization. It is an important opportunity, making it possible for many branches of our economy to take part in China's developmental projects. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Slovakia: Minister on EU Reaction to Penal Code Amendment

LD1504153996 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 15 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At the end of the last week, Justice Minister Jozef Liscak returned from a working visit to Brussels and Luxembourg. Our editor Lydia Mrazova asked the minister for an interview.

[begin recording] [Mrazova] Minister, the European Union [EU] originally responded to the amendment to the Penal Code in a negative way and voiced its concern over the amendment, saying that it was not in accord with European legal norms. You held a number of talks both in Luxembourg and Brussels. Did you manage

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to convince your partners that the amendment did not curtail any human rights?

[Liscak] [Passage omitted] The amendment does not rule out people's right to their own opinion. Nor does it rule out the possibility of criticizing the government. And it is in no way aimed against political opponents.

Very few of those who oppose the amendment pay any attention to its essential part—the violation of financial discipline or protection under bankruptcy. I would like to stress that this is really the essential part of the adopted amendment to the Penal Code.

[Mrazova] Let us return to the first question. We said that the EU response had been negative. To what did the EU react in particular and was the information available to the EU precise and correct? [passage omitted]

[Liscak] An official from the Ministry of Justice personally took part in talks held in Italy after the [EU] declaration expressing dissatisfaction with the amendment to the Penal Code had already been prepared. This official and an official of the Italian Foreign Ministry discussed the issues concerned. Both sides had to declare quite unequivocally that the amendment does not contradict any international regulation or law, nor does it contradict the Declaration of Human Rights. Some EU representatives were not familiar with the literal translation of the amendment. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Slovakia: SNS Comments on Subversion Law, NATO, EU

LD1204163396 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1800 GMT 12 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The amendment to the Penal Code was the most discussed issue at today's news conference of the Slovak National Party [SNS]. Editor Juraj Rybansky reports:

[Rybansky] SNS Deputy Chairman Jozef Sedovic described the polemic discussion on the amendment to the Penal Code that is currently resounding throughout our society as unsubstantiated. He said that the SNS welcomed adoption of the amendment but at the same time was unhappy about it being returned to parliament. According to Jozef Sedovic, the party holds the view that the opposition against the amendment is led by forces whose aim is to undermine the Slovak Republic.

Responding to various speculations in the press that talk about the adoption of the amendment as a deal in exchange for the support of the Slovak-Hungarian Intergovernmental Treaty, Jozef Sedovic said:

[Begin Sedovic recording] To mix the ratification of the Slovak-Hungarian Treaty with the amendment to the Penal Code, mainly with the articles on the protection of the republic, is like mixing two different things. [passage indistinct]

The Slovak National Party has its own idea of how to mitigate the consequences of the treaty. I think that this idea has been implemented to a great extent and that the process will be completed in the course of 1996. [end recording]

[Rybansky] Deputy Jozef Prokes said in connection with the predictions about the future fate of the amendment that he did not see any reason for it being in conflict with the Constitution, which is expected by many to be the result of the findings by the Constitutional Court. Jozef Prokes thinks that certain changes might be done in the article about the spread of false information about Slovakia abroad. He also rejected the possibility of political trials.

When talking about the issue of Slovakia's entry into NATO, Jozef Prokes said that it was not only our problem, but it was also related to providing stability and peace in Europe. In his view, entry into the European Union had to be weighed very carefully as well, and the population should be told about the positive as well as the negative aspects of this decision before holding a referendum on the issue.

Jozef Prokes also talked about the visit by the ethnic Hungarian deputies to Budapest and described such activity as siding with a foreign power against one's own government.

Slovakia: Journalists Air Concerns About Proposed Media Law

AU1204133596 Bratislava SME in Slovak 11 Apr 96 p 3

[Article by "r": "According to the Slovak Syndicate of Journalists, the State Acts as Curtailer of Freedoms in the Latest Draft of the Media Law"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The Collegium of the Chairman of the Slovak Syndicate of Journalists [SSN] views the latest version of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] draft law on public information media (the so-called press law) as a continuation of the negative tendencies that have already found their expression in the Penal Code amendment. "Concern is aroused above all by the fact that, in the proposed law, the state and its agencies do not act as guarantors of constitutional freedoms but as their curtailer," says a statement signed by SSN Chairman Jan Fule. The statement goes on to emphasize that the proposed Article 4, section 2 and Article 17 restrict the possibility to publish information within the framework set

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down by the European Human Rights Convention and by the Constitution of the Slovak Republic in its Article 26. The Collegium points out that stipulations providing for the registration of the periodical press do not respect the constitutional principle that the issuing of press is not subject to licensing procedures. At the same time the provisions on fines, in the proposed perception and volume, could jeopardize the existence and publication of periodicals. Moreover, the fines are to be imposed by the Ministry of Culture rather than by courts. The definition of censorship is also narrower than in internationally passed documents.

Slovakia: LI Concerned About Development of Democracy

AU1204160096 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 12 Apr 96 p 2

[Article by Izabela Nagyova: "Jules Maaten: Combination of Passed Laws Arouses Concerns"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The passage of the language law, the law on territorial and administrative arrangement, and the Penal Code amendment, coupled with planned changes to the electoral law, arouse in the Liberal International (LI) certain concerns about the development of democracy in Slovakia, said LI Secretary General Jules Maaten at a news conference in Bratislava yesterday, following talks with representatives of the Hungarian Coalition and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS].

According to Jules Maaten, the official justification that the combination of the adopted legislative steps should prevent a chaotic development in society does not hold water. The LI associates 70 liberally oriented political parties from 50 countries. Of the political parties in Slovakia, the Hungarian Civic Party [MOS] is an LI member and Coexistence and the Democratic Union [DU] have observer status.

[Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 12 April, in the "Only Question" column on page 2, carries a 200-word reply by HZDS Deputy Chairman Augustin Marian Huska to a correspondent's question about the contents of his talks with LI Secretary General Jules Maaten. Explaining the reasons for the "possible modification of the electoral law," Huska reportedly told Maaten that "there is an excessive number of political entities in the National Council of the Slovak Republic because the formation of so-called preelection coalitions made it possible to circumvent the 5-percent barrier for entry into Parliament."]

Slovakia: Arson Attack on Romanies' Home Claims One Life

AU1204122896 Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 11 Apr 96 p 4

[TASR report: "Inhuman Attack on Romany Dwelling"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Banska Bystrica—Three men aged 22-25 from Hontianske Nemce in the district of Zvolen have been charged by the investigator at the Police Corps' Regional Office of Investigations in Banska Bystrica with the criminal act of general endangering and disturbing domestic peace and security. On Monday 8 April, at around 2200, the perpetrators, under the influence of alcohol and together with three other men, physically assaulted five Romanies from Zalistie, which is part of Hontianske Nemce. The attack culminated in the throwing of a bottle and containers containing an inflammable liquid into the dwelling [obidlie] and its being subsequently set on fire. After the fire was extinguished the skeleton of a 38-year-old man was found in the building.

The Hontianske Nemce tragedy was preceded by a conflict during which a group of about 15 Romanies from Zalistie was attacked, first by four and then by six citizens of white complexion, who retreated into the local bar when they found out that the Romanies outnumbered them. The third attack on the Romanies' dwelling ended tragically.

Captain Marian Slobodnik, department chief at the Police Corps' Regional Office of Investigations in Banska Bystrica, informed the press about this yesterday.

Slovakia: Debenture Form of Coupon Privatization Explained

AU1204120096 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 4 Apr 96 pp 1-2

[Article by Stanislav Tomanek: "The Payment to Withdrawing Privatization Coupon Holders Exceeds 30 Million Korunas"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The Government of the Slovak Republic approved the mechanism for conducting privatization by means of National Property Fund debentures. Its subsequent directives will provide for a simple, safe, and plain dealing with the fund debentures. Prior to the trading start, an information campaign will be conducted, which will acquaint the citizens with the conditions for trading with these securities on the fund-debenture market. The government directive determines, among other things, a so-called fair price for the debenture. The fair price is a price that is not lower than 75 percent of the nominal value at the time of the

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transaction, including the yield of the individual years. This means that this year it is 7,500 korunas [Sk].

The government directive is in accordance with Law on Large-Scale Privatization and the amendment to the government directive on the issue and application of investment coupons. The main criteria for the directive are the simplicity of use, operational security, and speedy start in trading with the fund debentures. The original owner uses the debenture according to his own purposes in accordance with law and the government directive. The National Property Fund, as the organizer of the debenture market, will assign its representatives, who will provide for citizens the services connected with the application of the debentures prior to maturity. The fund will task the RM-System Slovakia with taking care of the technical aspects of the debenture market.

Application Mechanisms

The application mechanism for the debentures facilitates 13 alternatives:

—Sale to legal or natural persons to pay off the obligation to the National Property Fund or the Slovak Land Fund;

—Investment in a business with an obligation to the National Property Fund or the Slovak Land Fund;

—Sale to an authorized bank;

—Application of the debenture for a supplementary pension or health insurance;

—Application of the debenture as means of payment for a transfer of a housing unit to personal ownership;

—Payment-free transfer to the owner's kin for the purpose of acquiring ownership of a housing unit;

—Use of the debenture to procure shares from the hands of the National Property Fund;

—Payment for the National Property Fund debenture prior to its maturity;

—Payment of the nominal value and yield after 1 January 2001;

—Fulfillment of obligations to the National Property Fund;

—Fulfillment of obligations to the Slovak Land Fund.

Financial Cost

The financial cost of implementing the debenture method of coupon privatization will reach Sk130 million. The funds obtained from the sale of investment coupons and the capital of the National Property Fund will be used for this purpose. In addition to these expenditures, which result from the technical and organizational aspects of the implementation of the debenture method of coupon privatization, the amendment defines other payments to be covered.

The withdrawing investment coupon holders will have their registration fee refunded for a total of Sk30,135,000. The investment funds registered for the second wave of coupon privatization will also receive a flat-rate reimbursement. This reimbursement has been requested by 88 of the 162 registered funds. The compensation amounts to Sk500,000. Nevertheless, only the funds that fulfilled the government-set conditions will receive the reimbursement. The total sum of the compensation is Sk44 million.

Vade Mecum of the Owner

The application of the fund debenture is regulated by three principal rules.

Only the original owner, legally authorized persons, or persons authorized by them who are acting on behalf and on account of these authorized persons can dispose of the debentures. The National Property Fund keeps a list of persons authorized to acquire fund debentures in the period after their issue except for the housing owners and kin. The authorized persons are registered according to the contract with the National Property Fund or the Slovak Land Fund.

The RM-System Slovakia issues instructions to the Securities Center regarding the transfer of debenture ownership.

Contracts concerning the transfer of debenture ownership can be concluded by authorized persons directly or through an authorized securities dealer or a National Property Fund representative. The National Property Fund appoints its district representatives upon agreement with the district offices.

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 10 April carries as a supplement the full text (8,400 words) of the Mechanism for Conducting Privatization by Means of National Property Fund Debentures adopted by the Government of the Slovak Republic on 2 April, approving the mechanism for conducting privatization by means of National Property Fund debentures.]

Slovakia: Siemens To Sign Nuclear Safety Contract

AU1104161796 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 4 Apr 96 p 7

[TASR report: "Siemens Will Upgrade Both Bohunice and Mochovce"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Erlangen—The German company Siemens AG in a consortium together with the

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Slovak company VUJE (Bratislava) intends to improve the safety standards at the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power plant. The Slovak power plants Co. (SE) contract is worth 5.5 billion korunas, Wolfgang Breyer, Siemens spokesman responsible for the sphere of electric power generation (KWU/Erlangen/Bavaria), said yesterday.

"We are close to signing an agreement," Breyer said yesterday. Siemens/KWU expects, among other things, that a consortium will be formed with a French partner worth 150 million German marks. The company is to participate in upgrading the safety standards at the Mochovce nuclear power plant, which is currently under construction.

Both contracts are to be completed gradually by 1999. Breyer said that the Slovak Government is strictly following the schedule, according to which once Mochovce is completed and in full regular operation, the operation of the Bohunice nuclear power plant will be terminated despite the current reconstruction work. Slovakia set the deadline for halting the Bohunice operation for the end of 1999. Mochovce unit 1 should be launched in 1998 and unit 2 in 1999.

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development) conditioned its subsidy for the construction of Mochovce by the termination of the operation of two units of the Bohunice power plant, which are referred to as dangerous. The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development "withdrew" its financial contribution for a time because the Slovak side refused to halt the operation of Bohunice.

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Hungary: Foreign Minister on Relations With Belgrade

LD1304181596 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1600 GMT 13 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Hungary and Yugoslavia will soon raise diplomatic relations to the ambassadorial level. This was confirmed by Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs in an exclusive interview with Duna television.

[Begin recording] [Kovacs] Yes, it is true. Conditions are now right for us to raise diplomatic relations between Hungary and Yugoslavia to an ambassadorial level again. [passage omitted]

I estimate that by the end of May at the latest, the Hungarian ambassador can enter office in Belgrade.

[Correspondent Karoly Durko, identified by caption] As a foreign minister, how do you view this step?

[Kovacs] I definitely consider it to be a positive step since they are immediate neighbors with whom we previously had extensive economic relations. We hope to again reach and even exceed those levels. There are also several hundred thousand ethnic Hungarians living in minority in Vojvodina. If relations are at a higher level we can do more for them, too. So I consider this a definitely positive step.

[Durko] Has there been coordination with the countries of the European Union in this matter?

[Kovacs] Yes, there has been. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Hungary: Professionial Soldiers To Petition Parliament

LD1204211396 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 12 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Soldiers have started collecting signatures for a petition to parliament. However, this is only the first step, and they are prepared to hold demonstrations unless they receive guarantees that their fundamental rights will be observed. This was said by Peter Konya, spokesman for the army employees' trade union, in an interview with our correspondent, Agnes Papp.

[Begin Konya recording] The majority of professional soldiers have reached the breaking point. Hungarian army personnel are truly insecure and in utter despair. [end recording]

[Papp] The soldiers are protesting the continued delay of the introduction of a law to settle their legal status. They say the army is functioning on low-level regulations and unconstitutional decrees that infringe constitutional rights.

The spokesman said the draft law will continue to deprive the soldiers of their constitutional rights and will preserve the existing situation in the army, the main feature of which being promotion of the least fit [kontraszelekcio]. [passage omitted]

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B-H: List of Pledges Made at Bosnia Donors Conference

AU1304171296 Paris AFP in English 1653 GMT 13 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, April 13 (AFP)—The two-day world donor conference on Bosnia that ended on Saturday raised pledges of reconstruction aid for the devastated Balkan nation of 1.23 billion dollars for the current year, to be added to 600 million dollars raised at a first donor meeting in December.

The following is a list of major contributions for 1996:

European Union: 260 million dollars (including 81 million for the "PHARE" assistance program for eastern and central Europe countries, 110.5 million to rebuild housing, 41.5 million for the administration of the Bosnian town of Mostar and 13 million for mine clearing). The EU pledged 113 million dollars in December, bringing the total EU pledge for 1996 to 373 million.

United States: 219 million dollars (including 148 million for economic revival, 12.5 million to rebuild housing, 8.5 million for mine clearing and 50 million for police training). The US pledged 62.7 million dollars in December, bringing the total to 281.7 million.

World Bank: 310 million dollars (including 150 million pledged in December). The bank is aiming to raise another 40 million to bring its 1996 contribution to 350 million.

Japan: 133 million dollars (including 50 million in bilateral aid, 50 million for World Bank programs, 30 million for UN projects and 3 million for mine clearance).

European Reconstruction and Development Bank: 70 million dollars.

Islamic Development Bank: 25 million dollars and several Islamic Conference Organisation (OIC) countries pledged bilateral aid (Turkey 80 million, Saudi Arabia and Iran, 50 million each, Malaysia 12 million).

Canada: 40 million (including 15 million pledged in December)

Several EU countries also offered bilateral aid for the recontruction of Bosnia, in pledges made both on Saturday and at last December's first donor conference. These are over and above their contributions to overall EU aid.

The Netherlands has pledged 100 million dollars, Italy 70 million, Germany 38.6 million, Britain 33 million, Sweden 30 million, Spain 15.5 million, Austria 10 million, Belgium 8 million, Greece and France 7 million each, Ireland and Denmark 5 million each, Finland 2 million and Luxembourg 1.6 million.

Germany, which only increased its contribution by 3.3 million on Saturday, stressed that it has paid millions towards the cost of maintaining 400,000 Bosnian refugees on its territory since the war began.

France said it had already invested large sums in maintaining its troops in Bosnia, part of the NATO-led Implementation Force in Bosnia (IFOR) and in mine clearance and repairing infrastructures.

Switzerland pledged around 33 million dollars, Norway 15 million, Slovenia 4.6 million, the Czech Republic 3 million and Slovakia 1.5 million.

The pledges were made available to the press and still need to be confirmed by the World Bank and the European Commission, which co-sponsored the conference.

The World Bank has set a target of 5.1 billion dollars for the next three to four years to help rebuild Bosnia.

B-H: 'First Big' Reconstruction Projects To Start in May

AU1404140796 Paris AFP in English 1345 GMT 14 Apr 96

[By Peter Cunliffe-Jones]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, April 15 (AFP)—The first World Bank projects will get underway in Bosnia-Herzegovina next month after world donors dug deep into their pockets to meet a 1.8-billion-dollar target for aid for this year.

Some 55 donor countries and 29 international organisations met in Brussels Friday and Saturday and pledged to provide 1.23 billion dollars this year to add to the 600 million dollars pledged in December.

The money will start to work creating jobs in transport, agriculture, water, energy, telecommunications, health and education sectors, a Bank official said.

"The first big projects will begin in May," he said.

The conference in Brussels, which was boycotted by Bosnian Serbs, was judged a success by Bosnia and coincided with a spate of moves on the diplomatic front. Britain and other European countries recognised rump Yugoslavia, which played a key role in negotiating the end of the conflict in Bosnia.

The president of Bosnia-Herzegovina's Moslem-Croat federation, Kresimir Zubak, a Croat, meanwhile urged Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic to get involved in

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talks on the future of the Moslem-Croat federation, one of the two entities propping up the peace process.

The federation was set up in 1994 under pressure from Washington following 11 months of Moslem-Croat fighting but has been dogged by disputes over the power-sharing arrangements.

Izetbegovic was meanwhile forced to cancel an address to a election rally of his ruling Moslem Democratic Action Party (SDA) in the central town of Zenica.

Less than a year after Bosnia's Moslems, Croats and Serbs ended fighting, Bosnia-Herzegovina is supposed to hold elections by September but so far few preparations have been made for the poll.

Izetbegovic's inaugural rally in the main football stadium in Zenica was "cancelled because of bad weather," a spokesman for the ruling Democratic Action Party (SDA) said.

The president's main opposition in the Moslem-Croat federation is expected to come from former Bosnian prime minister Haris Silajdzic, who Saturday launched a new Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina (SBiH) and remains popular in polls.

Barred from the polls by the Dayton peace treaty, the Serb leader and indicted war criminal Radovan Karadzic on Sunday taunted the international community, joining Serb Orthodox Easter celebrations in a little church in the Serb "capital" Pale.

Surrounded by just a handful of bodyguards, the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, indicted in July with genocide and crimes against humanity, attended the Easter service in his mountain village headquarters as NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) troops made themselves noticeable by their absence.

An IFOR officer, speaking on condition of anonymity, told AFP last week IFOR knows "almost all the time" the whereabouts of the Serb leader and said an operation to arrest him would not be militarily difficult.

IFOR is under no obligation to hunt down indicted criminals but if it comes across them, it can arrest them.

Closing the net around the Serb leader, a team of seven war crimes investigators from the United Nations wrapped up a two-week probe into alleged mass graves in eastern Bosnia over which the Serb leader has been accused.

Karadzic is accused by the UN court of involvement in the alleged massacres of thousands of Moslem men fleeing the town of Srebrenica in July last year.

Another investigation team is expected to arrive in the area in early May to excavate the sites, based on the evidence found the first time around.

B-H: Report Views Planned U.S. Military Aid

AU1504100496 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 29 Mar 96 pp 17-18

[Article by Miroslav Lazanski: "The Inertia of Weapons"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Visitors from Sarajevo considered that they had reached their goal—the weapons that their host displayed to them in Miami were exactly what they had asked for: antiaircraft missiles, automatic rifles, ammunition, as well as night reconnaissance equipment. The salesman and the purchaser quickly made a deal: six "Stinger" antiaircraft missiles could be received at once, because the first installment of $10,000 was immediately paid. However, the entire transaction, which was worth $12 million, consisted of: 3000 M-16 rifles, around 100 "Stinger" antiaircraft missiles, "Redeye" antiaircraft missiles, ammunition, electronics,....

Well, that was only a clever trap set by the U.S. Customs Service, and that was how the Izetbegovic government's illegal attempt to obtain weapons and military equipment failed last year.

Now, when Washington announced that it will arm and equip the Muslim-Croat Federation Army, the traders of death, especially in Florida, expect new deals. In fact, the biggest deals regarding weapons are made in this very state. Florida's chamber of commerce praises its weapons exports as the branch which has achieved the largest boom in the history of Florida.

Sponsors Without Money

What, therefore, are the chances of the Muslim-Croat Federation, or the Muslim army, purchasing or receiving modern weapons? The conference on this issue, which was held in Ankara recently, failed totally, and barely $100 million was collected for this purpose. At this conference, the United States tried to talk its allies into being sponsors for weapons and for equipping the Muslim army militarily. Its European allies are very critical of Washington's intentions to arm Muslim units. They regard this as the "arm and run" formula, which could be the excuse that President Bill Clinton's administration may use in order to totally pull out the U.S. soldiers from Bosnia-Herzegovina at the end of 1996, exactly as the President had promised. Only time will tell whether the Islamic states will be more willing to make contributions in the future. However, when dollars are in question, then the Arab world shares no sentimentality, not even for their blood brothers. It

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is therefore difficult to expect that they will be more willing to contribute to the government in Sarajevo. That leaves the United States as the main possible source of military weapons and for equipping the Muslim army in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Since there are already 19,000 U.S. soldiers within the IFOR [Implementation Force], along with their entire technology, military and nonmilitary, the Muslims have the possibility to choose, on the spot, which weapons and equipment they like most, and what they would like the Americans to leave behind when they leave for home.

The weapons and equipment arrived in Bosnia-Herzegovina from bases in Germany. All of it is not the newest, but for the Balkan warriors this is a leap toward technology that they have only dreamed of. Again, this is an excellent possibility for Washington to get rid of surplus weapons, not to have to transport them back across the Atlantic, and it is all financially compensated, if possible, by some Islamic sponsor of the Sarajevo government.

The hope and stability in Bosnia-Herzegovina that were present after the announcement from Washington concerning the sale of weapons to Muslims and the training of their army are fading away. The negotiating process in Vienna, regarding the reduction of conventional military arsenals on the territory of former Yugoslavia, and especially in Bosnia-Herzegovina, could be seriously threatened if the U.S. deliveries to the Sarajevo government go through. The same could happen if the U.S. soldiers completely leave their heavy weapons to the Muslim Army after they leave. Nothing like an undefined war, and the result of such a war could better stimulate the sale of weapons. The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina was exactly such a war, undefined by the way it was led, as well as by the final result. Weaponry has its own inertia—it is something that countries can never give up.

Turn of Events

The situation seems a little eerie: The unsuccessful talks on a multiethnic, multiconfessional, and multicultural Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is the ideal and most fortunate solution, but maybe for a more ideal time, are going along with the concurrent beating of the war drums of extra weaponry for a kind of "second half of the match." The complicated thematic "security" complex in Bosnia-Herzegovina seems not to be perceived as complex for the time ahead of us. Only when the Muslims get the modern U.S. weapons will the Serb Republic's Army be faced with the situation where it will find out what a modern military confrontation on the ground really is. And this with an opponent that does not lag behind in heavy technology. This could be a brutal sobering up from the way the war for some provincial towns was waged, towns like those located in the mountains, that were never even heard of by anyone in Europe. At the same time, this will be a very painful realization that the West did not forget which side had the considerable advantage in tanks, planes, and artillery at the beginning of the war in 1992. Moreover, it is now continuing to try to impose its own rules of the game.

The arming of one side will inevitably lead to the other side having a psychosis of feeling threatened, and them arming themselves. This will not calm the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In fact, the following question can be raised: What regime of arms control can be at all successful unless a solution to the reasons of the conflict are found? Regardless of the circumstances of the regime of the military arsenal control in Bosnia-Herzegovina, regardless of the absent clear free will to support its efficiency, the question arises as to who, in the end, will be the most immune to Western attempts to strictly control arms in the Balkan region.

Inheritance

The Muslim army in Bosnia-Herzegovina currently has around 120,000 members divided up into 78 infantry brigades, 13 hill brigades, nine motorized brigades, two artillery brigades, five territorial brigades, one reconnaissance brigade, and one special brigade, as well as two antiaircraft defense regiments. Regarding heavy armament, Alija Izetbegovic's army has 40 T-34 and T-55 tanks, approximately 45 armored transporters and infantry military vehicles, 150 cannons and howitzers (105, 122, 130, and 203-mm), a few "Plamen" and "Oganj" 128-mm multiple rocket launchers, 82-mm and 120-mm mortars, "Maljutka" and Chinese "Red Arrow" (TF-8) antitank missiles, 20-mm and 30-mm antiaircraft cannons, "Stinger," "Strela," and "Igla" antiaircraft missiles, Mi-8 and Mi-17 helicopters.... The corps structure of the Muslim Army in Bosnia-Herzegovina is as follows: 1st Corps with its headquarters in Sarajevo, 2d Corps in Tuzla, 3d Corps in Zenica, 4th Corps in Mostar and Konjic, 5th Corps in Bihac, and the 7th Corps in Travnik.

Regarding infantry weapons, Muslim soldiers in Bosnia-Herzegovina mostly have Yugoslav and Hungarian automatic "Kalashnikov" rifles, so one questions the purpose of the 43,000 5.56-mm M-16 rifles that they are to receive from the United States. It is true that the ammunition factory in Konjic produces that caliber of infantry bullets, but the Yugoslav "Kalashnikov" proved itself excellent in the war conditions that were present in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The U.S. M-16 is a precise rifle, but it is very delicate and demands rigid maintenance.

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The U.S. soldiers in the IFOR units will leave behind a certain number of weapons for the Muslim army. These are: M-29A1 8-mm and M-224 60-mm mortars, M-102 105-mm and M-114A2 155-mm howitzers, M-109A2 155-mm mobile howitzers, M-60 tanks, and probably also some M-1 tanks, M-113A2 armored personnel carriers, "LAB-25" reconnaissance armored vehicles, "Sheridan" M-551 light tanks, UH-1 and OH-58C helicopters, and perhaps also CH-47 helicopters. There will also be, naturally, M-60 7.62-mm machine guns, M-2HB 12.7-mm machine guns, M-249 5.56-mm machine guns, as well as M-79 40-mm grenade launchers, M-72A2 66-mm light antitank launchers, "TOW" and "Dragon" 20-mm antitank missiles, "Vulcan" 20-mm antiaircraft cannons, "Stinger" and "Redeye" antiaircraft missiles, "Hummer" all-terrain vehicles, engineering equipment, mine-clearing equipment, river-crossing equipment, radars, radio equipment, and electronic military equipment that can be used for various purposes.

How much of all this will be left for the Sarajevo government is not only a question of money, since $100 million is not really a large sum, but it also depends on developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the context of the U.S. presidential elections. The Muslim soldiers definitely need training in the use of most of these U.S. military systems, for some systems even longer periods of training. However, the mass equipping of the army with these weapons will undoubtedly change the relation of military power in Bosnia-Herzegovina, or maybe even make it larger. Concerning the training, some officers of the Muslim army will complete it in the United States, and some are already in Iran. The Iranian Army also has large quantities of U.S. weapons at its disposal.

"Blue Room"

From the point of view of military aviation, the Sarajevo government has decided to purchase the U.S. F-5 "Tiger" aircraft, as well as the MiG-21 from some eastern European countries. A number of Islamic states possess F-5 fighter-bombers, so the training for these is not a problem. These aircraft are not among the most modern ones, but are still very good for assault purposes. In any case, by purchasing and acquiring these aircraft, the Muslims will probably gain an advantage over the Serb Republic's military aviation. The Serb Republic has aircraft of the "Orao," "Galeb," and "Jastreb" type.

In the domain of antiaircraft defense, NATO has totally destroyed the Serb Republic Army's radar observation system with its bombings. They destroyed the radar stations on Jahorina, Majevica, Kozara, and Pljesivic. On the other hand, the Muslims now have communication points at Vlasic (the tower remained intact) and in Stolice (the tower was destroyed). All that is left of the entire former JNA [Yugoslav National Army] radar system on Jahorina, which once covered the Mediterranean air space all the way to Algiers, are "mountain eyes" [gorske oci]: craters, 40 meters deep, which are full of water. There is no more "blue room," main headquarters of the RV [Ratno Vazduhoplvstvo—Military Aviation] and PVO [Protiv-Vazdusna Odbrana—Antiaircraft Defense] of the former JNA. That was where the defense of the Yugoslav air space was to have been controlled from in the event of a war.

Apart from the original U.S. weapons that will be Washington's ticket for leaving the Bosnia-Herzegovina boiling pot, can we also expect Russian tanks built by the Chinese on license to be in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well? These tanks are equipped with Israeli 105-mm cannons, with U.S. engines built into them, along with ammunition of French manufacture and with British electronic-targeting devices. All those that are expecting and hoping for the disarmament of the Balkan warriors—will be bitterly disappointed.

B-H: Izetbegovic Criticizes Silajzic at Election Rally

AU1404200196 Paris AFP in English 1930 GMT 14 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zenica, Bosnia-Hercegovina, April 14 (AFP)—Kicking off the Bosnian election campaign, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic addressed a rally of supporters in a football stadium here Sunday, attacking his main opponent, former premier Haris Silajdzic.

Izetbegovic, who is 70 and recovering from heart problems, said his ruling Moslem Democratic Action Party (SDA) had won the war for Bosnia and promised to fight for the interests of the war wounded and the unemployed.

The start of rally in Zenica was delayed by bad weather but went ahead a few hours later than planned.

Izetbegovic is expected to win in Moslem-Croat federation territory when polling takes place in September, less than a year after Bosnia's Moslems, Croats and Serbs ended fighting. [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic welcomed the results of a major international donor conference in Brussels this weekend which pledged 1.23 billion dollars to rebuild the devastated country.

"Our great diplomatic victory...will mean jobs and income for thousands of demobilised soldiers and returning refugees," Izetbegovic said.

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The president lashed out at Silajdzic, who split with the SDA in January, but remains popular, outpointing Izetbegovic in one recent poll.

"They say they are fighting for a multi-ethnic Bosnia and we are fighting for a Moslem Bosnia. I think they are fighting for power, more than for Bosnia.

"They want to liberate a country we have already liberated," he joked.

"Without the SDA, would be just a province of Serbia," he added.

The president, who came to power after first-ever democratic polls in 1990, said he favoured reconciliation but insisted war criminals "must be pursued unrelentingly." [passage omitted]

B-H: Izetbegovic Addresses Election Rally

LD1404193996 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] A report just in from Zenica: A rally under the symbolic title "SDA [Bosnian Muslim Party] for Bosnia-Herzegovina" was organized at the football stadium in Zenica today. It was addressed by Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency president and SDA chairman, Alija Izetbegovic, and Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic. Here is a report by Dzemaludin Danic:

[Begin recording] [Danic] Over 15,000 people came to the football stadium in Zenica to attend the rally, which had been cancelled this morning due to bad weather but was nevertheless held with an insignificant delay. President Izetbegovic was awaited with impatience and was greeted with enthusiasm when he said:

[Izetbegovic] As you can see I am alive and kicking. [applause]

[Danic] Explaining the hard post-war situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, President Izetbegovic first spoke about additional problems burdening the initial period of its reconstruction:

[Izetbegovic] The war is over, thank God. The days of peace are back—a bitter and cold peace. We are facing enormous problems: Devastated villages and towns, fatherless families, war invalids, refugees, unemployed people which can be counted in their thousands and, above all, the problem of the country, which some wanted to divide and tear apart.

In what direction is our development going to proceed? What can we do to make it follow the desired course?

[Danic] It is more certain now that the Bosnia-Herzegovina's rebuilding will start. It could set in motion an entire chain of positive changes, the Bosnia-Herzegovina president said. In this connection he said that this also offered an opportunity to determine who should be given priority in the struggle for a better future, underlining immediately that it would be those who fought for freedom and gave their lives for it. Of those in second place the president mentioned war invalids and then demobilized soldiers.

Izetbegovic then pointed to some negative things that have emerged in practice in connection with the attitude assumed by our legitimate authorities toward those who persevered in the struggle for a free Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Izetbegovic] Spring and peace have arrived. We should get down to work. Let us help our people out during the sowing season. Let us organize collective assistance to those families that have remained without men. Let us organize the afforestation of deforested areas. Let us clean our towns and villages. These are all collective jobs in which our [party] members can take part and help out our people and state.

[Danic] In conclusion, Izetbegovic said what we wanted and what we did not want in this state:

[Izetbegovic] We want an undivided Bosnia in which freedom reigns and in which the centuries-old tradition of tolerance between religions, nations, and political convictions continue to exist. This is the first thing which we wish. Is it not so? [applause]

We want our refugees to return to their homes, all to return to their homes. That is the first remedy for this ailing country.

We demand that IFOR [Implementation Force] extend full support for this process, which has not been the case so far. We demand this, and this is the second thing we are asking. We demand that war criminals be arrested and duly punished. This is the second medicine for this ailing country.

We are not blaming entire nations for our misfortune. Only individuals are to blame, despite the fact that they are so numerous that they themselves constitute a criminal nation. Guilt is never collective, it is always individual. So here, in the prosecution of war criminals, we shall ask IFOR to assume its part of the responsibility. For, at the end of the day, this will determine the success or failure of its own mission.

We want the search for missing persons to go on. We will fight for every individual: If he is alive, we will secure his release; if he is dead, we will give him a dignified burial and find his murderers.

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We want to embark on the reconstruction of our war-ravaged country, so our people can start reaping the fruits of their labor. Priority must be given to the war disabled, families of fallen soldiers, and to participants in the war of defense.

We want to have an effective defense system; we need a small but well-trained and equipped army relying on the broad base of the armed population.

In foreign policy we want to rely on three points, this is our famous three-legged stool: We want to rely on the United States, Europe, and the Islamic world. We do not want to stand on one leg.

We want many other things, but these are our seven constant objectives, faraway signals that direct [words indistinct].

[Danic] Winding up his speech, the president asked the participants in the rally to reflect on his plea.

[Izetbegovic] I want to tell you about reconciliation in Bosnia, about reconciliation for the sake of Bosnia, and reconciliation for the sake of our children and our grandchildren. But this reconciliation has one condition: War criminals must be mercilessly hounded to the ends of the earth. That is our condition.

This was not part of my original speech, this is an idea which I wish to present to you and urge you to think about it. I implore you to learn and get accustomed to the word reconciliation. Whoever loves Bosnia cannot hate that word because there cannot be a Bosnia without reconciliation, without peace, even in some distant future. You should think about that, I beg you to get used to that word.

In short: War criminals are to be pursued to the bitter end while the common people should be forgiven some day. Thank you. [end recording]

B-H: Federation's Zubak Wants Izetbegovic To Attend Talks

LD1304221396 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 13 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia- Herzegovina Federation, decided to send a letter to mediator Steiner after the meeting [between Steiner, Zubak, Ganic and officials of four central Bosnian municipalities]. His message: President Izetbegovic should return urgently to negotiations on the federation.

In his letter, Federation President Kresimir Zubak informed Michael Steiner, international arbiter for the federation, that the agreement on the federation of 30 March was contested immediately after its adoption and signing and commented upon by the Party of Democratic Action [SDA—ruling Muslim party] leaders in the media in a negative way.

As the president of the federation says, this could have been interpreted as an irresponsible show business political act, had it not been repeated at yesterday's session of the Constituent Assembly.

According to Zubak, it was said at the session, among other things, that the Sarajevo agreement [on the federation] was accepted out of political necessity, that signatories from the Bosniak-Muslim people were not authorized to accept the agreement, that they were proposing faulty bills to the government, and so on.

Zubak says that such political actions are not only due to the way of political thinking which belongs to the previous [socialist] system, but that their aim is to prevent implementation of what has been agreed.

In such a situation, the question is who are the individuals from the Bosniak-Muslim people who are competent to negotiate principles and sign agreements which will be honored and implemented in practice.

Dear Mr. Steiner, I extremely appreciate your efforts to bring the Bosnia-Hercegovina Federation to life. I would like to ask you to do one more thing: Talk to Mr. Izetbegovic and convince him that he should take part in talks of this kind personally. I believe that agreements reached in such a way would not be contested either in the media or in the parliament, Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Federation, says in his letter to Michael Steiner.

B-H: Presidency's Kljuic Accuses Ganic of Usurping Power

AU1304165496 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE (European edition) in Serbo-Croatian 4-5 Apr 96 p 2

[ONASA report: "Ganic Speaks as a Private Person"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The office of Stjepan Kljuic, member of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, has sent a letter to ONASA with which he "wants to inform the local public and the U.S. Embassy in Sarajevo that the public statements recently made by Ejup Ganic, member of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and vice president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, are of a completely private character and do not in any way represent the official views of the republican Presidency.

"With his political greed, Ganic has, on his own without any consultations, taken over the duties that are in the Presidency's jurisdiction. The fact that other members of the Presidency are keeping silent about it, or that they do not want to react to it, is their personal matter. However,

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I feel obliged to inform the public about my view since the events that are happening today are in complete contradiction with the sphere of competence, duties, and the method of work of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency," Kljuic's statement says.

B-H: Ganic Refers to Muslims' 'Victory' at Brcko Rally

LD1404194596 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A big protest rally under the slogan—Brcko Belongs to the People of Brcko—was held in the free parts of the Brcko municipality today. Around 15,000 people, mostly refugees, rallied to voice their resolve to return to their town. The rally was also attended by representatives of political and military circles of our country, and members of the state presidency, Ejup Ganic and Nijaz Durakovic. Admir Kadric has a report:

[Kadric] [Passage omitted] Ejup Ganic, Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency member and vice president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, warmly welcomed by 15,000 people, outlined the policy of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government on the Brcko issue. Stressing the importance of this battlefield, he said:

[Begin Ganic recording] Bosnia was defended everywhere, but one of the bloodiest battlefields was in Brcko. Brcko has belonged and will belong to the people of Brcko [applause]. Brcko used to be a town with a majority Bosniak population, and it will remain so.

Perhaps we have won a victory in the last European crusade that was aimed at reversing the wheel of history, at presenting genocide, apartheid, chauvinism—executed through massive crimes—as a political and national value and achievement. Mass graves being found in this area now speak about what fate was designed for Bosniaks and Croats by greater-Serbian autocrats. Life has proved to be indestructible.

Whatever is not natural fails, while evil—even though it seemed to be triumphant at times—has been defeated, and will be defeated completely, I swear [applause]. [end recording]

[Kadric] Speaking about what the Bosnian side was offering to the Serbs when it comes to the resolution of the Brcko issue, Ganic said:

[Begin Ganic recording] We are offering to them that Brcko be the door to Bosnia, the door to Europe, that Brcko be the same as Trieste in the Adriatic, our common link with the world, although Brcko belongs to us. We are ready to make it an oasis of peace, an oasis of prosperity, but we are returning to our homes, and that is it. [end recording]. [passage omitted]

B-H: Ganic Addresses Brcko Refugee Rally To Return Home

AU1404163196 Paris AFP in English 1542 GMT 14 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brcko, Bosnia-Herzegovina, April 14 (AFP)—Thousands of refugees called Sunday on the international community to give them back their former homes warning there would be no peace in Bosnia otherwise.

The rally of 5,000 Moslems in a muddy, snow-clad field near the northern town of Brcko heard strident calls for a return to the bitterly fought-over town now dominated by Bosnian Serbs.

Among the speakers was Moslem-Croat Federation Vice President Ejup Ganic who coupled his call for reconciliation with a demand that all refugees be allowed home.

He claimed there were mass graves in the area that contained the bodies of more than 7,000 people killed by the Serbs after they captured Brcko in early May 1992.

"This was one of the bloodiest conflicts in Bosnia," he told the crowd. "But there is no peace without Brcko. Brcko to Brcko people, and peace to Europe."

The field where the demonstration took place was eight kilometres (five miles) south of Brcko on the other side of the confrontation line between the Bosnian Serbs' Republika Srpska and the Moslem-Croat Federation.

Men, women and children branded placards with slogans such as "Brcko is ours" and "War criminals to The Hague," a reference to Bosnian Serb leaders Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic who have been indicted on charges of war crimes.

B-H: Bosnian Croats Boycott Brcko Rally

LD1404193396 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Brcko citizens held a rally at noon today. The rally was held in the Croat village of Vitanovici in the territory of the Ravne-Brcko municipality, under the slogan "Brcko belongs to its citizens." The rally was addressed by Ejup Ganic, the vice president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Nijaz Durakovic, a member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

The Croat delegation, led by Mijo Anic, head of the Ravne-Brcko Municipal Council, walked out from the

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rally at its very beginning. We left because the national insignia of the Ravne-Brcko Croat people was nowhere to be seen at the rally. The initial part of the rally was also unacceptable to us because the attending citizens of Brcko, Croats and Muslims, were welcomed with the Muslim religious greeting salaam aleykum, Mr. Anic said.

B-H: IFOR Refuses To 'Guarantee' Brcko Expellees' Safety

AU1204180796 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 12 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Expelled Brcko citizens, organized in the Association of Citizens-Returnees on the free territory of this municipality, have again failed to carry out their planned visit to Brcko cemeteries.

Like last week, Implementation Force [IFOR] representatives informed the expelled Brcko citizens, who had set off in buses to their city, that their troops were not prepared to guarantee their safety. Mayor (?Hanton) asked the representatives of the expelled Brcko citizens to postpone their trip to the city for a later date also because of the Brcko-for-the-Brcko-people rally, planned for Sunday in the village of Brka. The rally is expected to attract 20,000 people and will be addressed by Ejup Ganic, Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency member and Federation vice president.

The expelled Brcko citizens showed understanding for IFOR's request but also stressed that in the future they would not tolerate the nonimplementation of agreements, including those on visits to cemeteries in Brcko.

B-H: Muslim Security Service Arrests 2 HVO Soldiers

LD1304215896 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2030 GMT 13 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 13 Apr (SRNA)—Members of the Muslim State Security Service today arrested and then beat up two HVO [Croatian Defense Council] soldiers in Vares.

According to the Croat Herzeg-Bosnia Radio, the Muslim authorities tried to force Miroslav Lucic and Neven Ivankovic, both soldiers of the HVO's 96th Homeguard Bobovac-Vares Regiment, to admit that they had taken part in the attack on the village of Stupni Do, in which a number of Muslim civilians were killed in 1991.

After the interrogation, Ivankovic was released and Lucic was transferred to one of the Muslim prisons in Zenica or Sarajevo. The Muslim authorities also want Lucic to sign a statement implicating certain municipal officials, as well as local HVO commanders in the aforementioned events, the radio said.

According to the same source, a number of Muslims were beaten up in Vares over the past few days because they helped the returning Croats.

"Chaos prevails in the town where a session of the Transitional Municipal Council is expected. Everyone expects something to happen because the situation is critical," Croat Herzeg-Bosnia Radio said in conclusion.

B-H: Croats Angered by Muslim Security Service Arrests

LD1404173896 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 14 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] And now to Vares [Muslim-held town north of Sarajevo which had Croat majority before the war] where members of the HVO [Croat Defence Council—Bosnian Croat forces] are unfortunately being arrested even today. Goran Spreckic reports.

[Spreckic] Following yesterday's arrest of Miroslav Lucic, a major in the Bobovac-Vares 96th Home Guard Regiment, by the Muslim civilian police, another HVO member, Neven Ivankovic, was arrested.

Ivankovic was taken from his parents' house in Vares where he was visiting with his daughter. The arrest was carried out by seven Muslim civilian police and one military policeman, who first ransacked the house in search of weapons. Together with his 66-year-old father, Ivankovic was slammed against the wall and beaten up by the military policeman. Both were then taken to the police station, where they were beaten and interrogated in separate rooms.

The questions were the same as during Lucic's interrogation—when did he join the HVO, why did he take up arms, and who is supplying information about the situation in Vares to Croat Radio Bobovac-Vares [broadcasting from a tiny Croat enclave east of Vares].

He was accused of taking part in the events at Stupni Do in fighting against the Muslims and drug trafficking. In return for his collaboration he was promised complete freedom and various privileges guaranteed by the 16th [Muslim] Division and told that his family would enjoy full protection. Ivankovic was released after several hours of interrogation and mistreatment.

It is important to say here that this is a totally innocent man, and that by doing this the Muslim side violated in the worst possible way all agreements signed so far and showed its desire to dominate the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Corroborating this is the involvement in this case of the so-called Agency for Research

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and Documentation of Bosnia-Herzegovina [Bosnian Muslim Intelligence Agency], which was formed on 12 January by the Muslim Presidency.

B-H: Croatia Admits To Holding More Than 500 Serb POW's

LD1304164096 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1510 GMT 13 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 13 Apr (SRNA)—Major Ivan Grujic, the head of the Republic of Croatia's Commission for the Exchange of Prisoners, has admitted that more than 500 Serb soldiers and civilians are still being held in Croatian prisons.

He said that he had a list of names of 416 Serbs killed in the Croatian offensive on western Slavonia, and added that 13 prisoners from Lora prison in Split and five from Rodoc [former Yugoslav military airport] near Mostar could be released soon.

The Commissions for the Exchange of Prisoners of the Serb Republic, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Republic of Serb Krajina—Banja Luka office, Herzeg-Bosnia—, and Croatia, had a meeting in Davor last night. It has been announced that the next meeting will be held on 15 May in Zagreb. [passage omitted]

B-H: Muslims in Mostar 'Have No Freedom of Movement'

LD1404142296 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1314 GMT 14 Apr 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Apr. 14 (TANJUG)—Muslims in the southern Bosnian city of Mostar have no freedom of movement, said the local radio on Sunday [14 April].

Croat police on Sunday set up a control post near the so-called military bridge on the highway linking Sarajevo to the Adriatic.

After the creation of the Muslim-Croat Federation, Mostar was divided into the eastern Muslim and western Croatian parts, preceded by the expulsion of 45,000 Serbs who lived in the city and its suburbs in the valley of the Neretva river.

The 'paper' federation was set up in 1994 after a year of ferocious fighting between Muslims and Croats over territories in central and southwestern Bosnia.

The Muslim local radio in Mostar said the Bosnian Croat army was parading the city, refusing to remove the barricades still standing before the eyes of the European administration and police, despite agreements reached so far.

The command of the peace implementation force (IFOR) on Saturday said at a meeting with the Muslim leadership that the administration was unable to deal with the situation since the recent departure of its administrator Hans Koschnick, said the radio.

Koschnick ended his duty as European administrator in Mostar on Apr. 1, after failing to implement his decision on the territorial arrangement of Mostar, into three Croat and three Muslim municipalities and a joint city core shared by the two sides.

Dissatisfied with the decision, Croatian nationalists staged mass demonstrations, demolishing the E.U. bureau in Mostar and attacking Koschnick.

B-H: Silajdzic Elected President of New Party

AU1304203896 Paris AFP in English 1949 GMT 13 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, April 13 (AFP)—Former Bosnian prime minister Haris Silajdzic was Saturday unanimously elected president of the party he formed after he left the government in January.

Silajdzic said his new Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina (SBiH) wanted to make "its contribution to the reintegration of Bosnia."

He told the party's founding convention that it will advocate an integral, sovereign and independent Bosnia as a democratic country belonging to all its citizens regardless of their nationality.

Delegates at the inaugural congress attended by more than 800 people came from the Bosnian towns of Bihac, Gorazde, Mostar, Travnik, Tuzla and Zenica.

Silajdzic split from Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic's Moslem-dominated SDA (Democratic Action Party) in January.

The Dayton peace accord that ended almost four years of war in Bosnia divides the country roughly equally between the Moslem-Croat federation and the Bosnian Serb entity.

B-H: Silajdzic To Run for President in Sep

LD1404122896 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1152 GMT 14 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Apr 14 (TANJUG)—Haris Silajdzic, former prime minister of the Bosnian Muslims, founded a new political party in Sarajevo on Saturday [13 April], and announced his running for president of the future union of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BIH) at September's elections.

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Around one thousand of his followers at the party founding congress carried by acclamation the candidature of Silajdzic, the most popular Muslim politician according to the sounding out of public opinion.

Silajdzic was quoted by REUTER as saying that the BIH would dissolve if the international community failed to accept it as a single and sovereign country.

Unfortunately, Silajdzic said in addressing his followers, this was what was taking place now. He added that he was afraid a discrepancy between what was happening on the ground and what we wanted for the BIH might be resolved by war.

He said peace brought Bosnia into critical days when its integrity and sovereignty were no less endangered than in the time of war.

REUTER said that the recent poll by the Sarajevo DANI magazine showed that Silajdzic was Bosnian Muslims' most popular politician. In this poll, Silajdzic received forty per cent and Alija Izetbegovic twenty-six per cent of the votes.

B-H: Poll Indicates Silajdzic 'Favorite' Politician

AU1304205996 Sarajevo DANI in Serbo-Croatian Apr 96 pp 14-17

[Unattributed "exclusive" report: "Haris Silajdzic Is Convincingly First, and His Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Which Has Only Been Announced, Would Win the Elections Today"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Considering that not a single serious public opinion poll has been conducted in Bosnia-Herzegovina since the beginning of the war, the DANI Research Center has made pioneering step in that area. With the help of its associates, the Research Center carried an opinion poll in Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zenica, Mostar, and Gorazde in the period between 13 and 20 March. A total of 5,355 people responded to our four questions that shed to some extent light on the current situation in one part of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The DANI Research Center has conducted this poll only in Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zenica, the east part of Mostar, and Gorazde. Difficult communications are why the poll was not carried out in Bihac, while the reasons for not conducting the poll in Republika Srpska [Serb Republic] and the part of the Federation under the control of the Croat Defense Council are of a political nature.

To obtain a valid representative sample, we used the instructions provided by social experts and the polling methods applicable to a society with the destroyed demographic infrastructure and statistical data. In building the statistical sample, we took into account the ratios of the representativeness, national affiliation, sex, and education criteria, as well as the ratio of refugees and the prewar city population. The results of the poll should be taken with caution, owing to the circumstances under which the poll had been conducted. The DANI Research Center has prepared for the readership of our magazine the interesting results of the poll, while the Center will specially prepare a more detailed analysis of the answers by certain strata of respondents upon request of those who are interested in it.

The DANI Research Center has polled 2,000 people in Sarajevo, 1,003 in Mostar, 1,002 in Zenica, 1,000 in Tuzla, and 350 in Gorazde. Gradimir Gojer, Amila Omersoftic, Nijaz Skenderagic, Muhamed Sacirbegovic, Miro Lazovic, Mirko Pejanovic, Ivo Komsic, Adil Zulfikarpasic, Ivan Bender, Dario Kordic, Safet Orucevic, Izudin Kapetanovic, Fikret Abdic, Abdulah Konjicija...received an occasional vote, but not enough to score a few percent points. President Izetbegovic and the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] have only won in Gorazde. In Sarajevo, 3.95 percent of the respondents voted for the Republican Party (RS). In Zenica, the Liberals and the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] received the same number of votes.... Other interesting points are hidden in our diagrams. All figures are presented in percentages.

Which party would you vote for at this moment?	
Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina	37
SDA [Party of Democratic Action]	33
SDP [Social Democratic Party]	7
UBSD [Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina Social Democrats]	6
No one	7
Other parties	10
—LS [Liberal Party]	3.09
—RS [Republican Party]	2.05
—HDZ	3.23
—MBO [Muslim Bosniak Organization]	0.39
—LBO [Liberal Bosniak Organization]	0.24
—The Greens	0.22
—GDS [Civic Democratic Party]	0.20

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Which party would you vote for at this moment?	
—HSP [Croatian Party of Rights]	0.28
—HSS [Croatian Peasants' Party]	0.28
—People's Party	0.18

Breakdown of Party Preference Results According to Towns

Sarajevo (2,000)	
Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina	41.9
SDA	26.85
SDP	7.7
HDZ	4.4
RS	3.95
Other parties	8.2
Do not know	7
Tuzla (1,000)	
Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina	26.2
SDA	33.2
SDP	5
UBSD	26.2
Other parties	5
Do not know	4.4
Gorazde (350)	
Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina	43.7
SDA	47.7
Sarajevo (2,000)	
Do not know	6
SDP	1.14
Other parties	1.44
Mostar (1,003)	
Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina	44.06
SDA	40.2
SDP	8.2
Do not know	5.14
The Liberals	1.7
The Greens	0.7
Zenica (1,002)	
Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina	33.03
SDA	26.64
SDP	7.98
HDZ	6.08
The Liberals	6.08
Do not know	14.57
Other parties	5.62>

Who is your favorite politician?	
Silajdzic	41.92
Izetbegovic	26.64
Ganic	4.64
Beslagic	4.07
Kljuic	3.39

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Breakdown of Question of Favorite Politician According to Towns

	Sarajevo	Mostar	Tuzla	Zenica	Gorazde
Silajdzic	42.05	54.43	33.7	37.32	42.00
Izetbegovic	24.20	30.20	26.30	2.75	42.57
Ganic	3.55	6.08	4.2	4.69	8.0
Kadic	3.20			6.48	
Durakovic	4.60	0.79		3.89	3.14
Lagumdzija	0.55	1.29	1.90	2.59	
Kljuic	6.00		3.50	2.59	
Orucevic		5.88			
Muratovic	2.40			1.39	
Tokic	0.40			2.09	
Beslagic			21.80		
Prlic				2.49	
Zubak	1.65			4.79	
Filipovic				1.09	0.57
Bicakcic	0.40				

Who would you rather choose as an ally, Serbia or Croatia?	
Neither	56
Croatia	31
Serbia	12
Both	1

Are you planning to spend your future in Bosnia-Herzegovina?	
Yes	87
No	12
Do not know	1

Breakdown of Choice of Ally According to Towns

	Serbia	Croatia	Neither	Both
Sarajevo	11.9	39.8	47.75	0.55
Mostar	10.76	0.81	88.43	
Tuzla	7.9	31.6	60.5	
Gorazde	10.87	23.71	64.57	0.85
Zenica	16.56	47.2	33.83	2.41

Breakdown of Preference for Future Residence According to Towns

	Yes	No	Do Not Know
Sarajevo	82.70	16.60	0.70
Mostar	93.91	5.38	0.71
Tuzla	93.80	6.20	
Gorazde	90.85	9.14	
Zenica	81.23	14.87	3.89

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B-H: Pale Serbs Boycott Tuzla Talks on Dayton Issues

AU1204152796 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Talks between Michael Steiner, the EU deputy high representative for Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the representatives of the Tuzla-Podrinje Canton and the northeastern Bosnia municipalities are taking place in Tuzla today. Enes Osmancevic reports:

[Begin recording] The talks, which were announced in the media as a chance to move things out of deadlock in the implementation of the civilian part of the peace agreement, started this morning in the Tuzla Hotel with security measures hitherto unseen in this city. The talks were opened by Deputy High Representative Michael Steiner and are still under way behind closed doors as we file this report.

However, to judge from what we have managed to find out, the talks are not proceeding according to plan. The representatives of the Serb entity from the Brcko, Bijeljina, Zvornik, Doboj, Modrica, and Teslic areas, although invited, refused to participate in the talks. Someone from Bildt's office will probably make public the reasons for their boycott of the talks.

However, the representatives of the Tuzla-Podrinje Canton and its municipalities are meeting with Steiner. The topics on the agenda of today's talks in Tuzla should be the opening of roads, the return of refugees, freedom of movement, and reconstruction. It is still not known whether any of these issues have been replaced by others at today's meeting. Special sessions had been announced on the problems facing the citizens of the Zvornik and Doboj municipalities. We will try to find out at the news conference announced for this afternoon whether these issue have been discussed today.

However, even before the news conference, we should state what has been clear to us for a long time: Karadzic's and Mladic's influence is still decisive in the Serb entity, despite the cosmetic changes in the Pale leadership and the ineffective attempts at further changes. The representatives of Bildt's office and the former Swedish prime minister himself should also realize this, not so much for their own sake but for the sake of the nation whose destiny they are trying to determine. [end recording]

B-H: Steiner Says Karadzic 'Has No Future'

AU1204185896 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 12 Apr 96

[Report by Enes Osmancevic on news conference by Michael Steiner, deputy EU high commissioner for Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Tuzla on 12 April—recorded, Steiner speaks in English with consecutive Serbo-Croatian translation]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Osmancevic] Despite the fact that, although invited, the representatives of the Serb entity did not attend today's meeting in Tuzla, Michael Steiner assessed the talks as successful and constructive. He stressed that the reasons for their nonattendance as given to him by the representatives of the Serb entity were not very convincing and that such a decision was harmful for no one but the people of that entity.

We discussed the return of refugees and displaced people, the freedom of movement, and economic reconstruction in the presence of representatives of the EU, IMF, and the World Bank. They gave us a clear picture of what they want to do in northeastern Bosnia. The international aid will certainly be less than needed by this country, which is why priorities will have to be determined and resources for them requested at the donators' conference, Deputy High Commissioner Michael Steiner said.

Speaking about the freedom of movement, he said that it was still not at the level at which they would like it to be and warned about the excessive presence of local police forces. When it comes to the return of displaced people to their homes, Steiner said very briefly that the progress was not as hoped for.

Asked by this correspondent about the future fate of some 4,000 citizens of six Zvornik villages who want to remain in their homes on the territory handed over to the Serb entity, Steiner said:

[Steiner] I think that those persons who have decided to stay in their villages, even if these villages are to be part of the Serb Republic's territory, have made a very brave and courageous decision, and these people deserve all our support. I think that these people are setting an example, which, in my mind, should be an example for the entire country because that is the way to build the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina together. My understanding is that the international police and the EU monitors, as well as the Implementation Force, will do everything within their mandate so that these people can stay safely in their homes.

[Osmancevic] Asked by your correspondent why they were allowing Karadzic and Mladic to continue playing

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tricks on them, Steiner said that he realized that a long time ago, and added: Karadzic has no future.

B-H: Karadzic Aide Criticizes Brussels Conference

LD1304142396 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1219 GMT 13 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 13 Apr (SRNA)—The Brussels conference is not so much a conference on reconstruction as it is devoted to propping up the Muslim-Croat Federation—the sick man of the Balkans, Jovan Zametica, advisor to the Bosnian Serb Republic [RS] president, has said.

"Even so, RS representatives would have gone to Brussels had it not been for the cynicism, hypocrisy, and perfidiousness so rampant in certain quarters of the international community," Zametica said in reply to comments on the nonparticipation of the RS in the donors' conference.

"The RS did not receive an appropriate but only a private invitation from High Representative Carl Bildt, although his office was not involved in the organization of the conference, but the European Commission and the World Bank," the RS president's aide said, and recalled:

"In addition, the RS Government was asked to attend as part of a delegation of the self-proclaimed Muslim Government in Sarajevo. That was a clumsy attempt to enter alterations to the Dayton Agreement through the back door and push the RS into a constitutionally subordinated position in relation to its recent enemies."

Recalling that Prime Minister Rajko Kasagic had informed Bildt in a letter dated 10 April that the proposed formula for RS participation in the conference was unacceptable, Zametica said:

"The RS was firmly determined to send its representatives; it appointed a four-member delegation and prepared various documents for distribution at the conference, including details for more than 2,000 reconstruction projects in the RS.

"In our further correspondence with the high representative, we discovered that Mr. Bildt was not even in a position to guarantee that the head of the RS delegation would be permitted to address the gathering—despite earlier assurances to the contrary.

"The truth is that Mr. Bildt was involved in manipulation—something he has been very good at from the very beginning. For example: On 23 January he violated the agreement we reached on 17 January on police deployment in Serb Sarajevo, a shameful and dishonorable act on the part of the high representative, which directly set off the mass exodus of Serbs from the city."

The RS president's aide warned that "the Dayton agreement very clearly establishes two completely separate entities—the RS and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation." He added:

"We shall fight with all available means to defend this constitutional agreement, particularly because the RS made such tremendous territorial and political concessions in the name of peace."

B-H: Bildt 'Would Gladly Pay' for Karadzic's Jail Expenses

AU1204175596 Paris AFP in English 1624 GMT 12 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, April 12 (AFP)—Carl Bildt, the top civilian official overseeing peace in Bosnia, said Friday [12 April] he would never speak to Bosnian Serb hardliner Radovan Karadzic but quipped he would gladly pay for his detention in a war-crimes jail.

Speaking on the sidelines of a key two-day conference on aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina, the former Swedish premier blamed Karadzic for the boycott of the meeting by the Bosnian Serb entity, the Republika Srpska.

"We want to facilitate reintegration, that isolates this leadership, which is increasingly afraid of us," he said.

Bildt said Karadzic had forced more moderate Bosnian Serb leaders to stay away from the pledging conference because international efforts to reduce inter-community tension in Bosnia exposed his isolationist line.

The conference which ends Saturday aims to raise 1.8 billion dollars to rebuild Bosnia-Herzegovina from the ashes of a nearly four-year ethnic war involving Croats, Moslems and Serbs.

"He (Karadzic) said the world refused to cooperate with the Serbs," Bildt said. "Suddenly the world is saying we're ready to cooperate, so he has no alternative but to slam the door."

Asked how world donors aimed to funnel money to the Bosnian Serbs, given their absence, Bildt said: "I wasn't intending to give money to Mr. Karadzic. The only money I would give benefitting him would be to The Hague crimes tribunal for upkeeping and accommodation."

Karadzic, along with Serb General Ratko Mladic, is wanted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia on charges of war crimes.

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"I've never been talking to Mr. Karadzic," Bildt added. "I have no intention of talking to Mr. Karadzic."

B-H: Karadzic Reportedly Celebrated Easter in Pale

AU1404141896 Paris AFP in English 1238 GMT 14 Apr 96

[By Francoise Michel]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, April 14 (AFP)—Smiling and relaxed, indicted war criminal Radovan Karadzic celebrated Serb Orthodox Easter on Sunday in a little church in the Bosnian Serb "capital" Pale.

Surrounded by just a handful of bodyguards, the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, indicted last July with genocide and crimes against humanity, attended the Easter service in his mountain village headquarters outside the Bosnian capital with his wife, Ljilijana, and 200 fellow residents of the village.

With nearby NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) troops making themselves noticeable by their absence, Karadzic greeted the priest of the tiny Orthodox church in Pale.

A blue, red and white Serb flag hung from the front of the church.

The Serb "president" sang and took communion while the faithful around him lit candles for the living and the dead.

Under the terms of the Bosnian peace treaty negotiated last year, Karadzic can no longer be leader of the Serbs but civilian officials overseeing the peace process saw him as being behind a Serb refusal to attend a massive aid donor conference at the weekend.

Initially reported subdued after the treaty was negotiated without his participation in Dayton, Ohio, in November, Karadzic appears now to be "back in charge," of Serb decision making, a diplomat at a western embassy in Sarajevo said Thursday.

Karadzic was indicted with war crimes in July for leading the war which killed more than 200,000 Bosnians. He is wanted in particular over the massacres in the eastern town of Srebrenica, in July, in which between 3,000 and 8,000 Moslem men are feared to have died.

Surrounded by his supporters, just one journalist was allowed to ask a question of Karadzic on Sunday. He said he was "happy despite the snow," which fell overnight, dampening the first peaceful Easter since April 1992.

Peace "is something we have been seeking for four years. We are very happy despite the snow. Peace has it's own value and we are going to preserve it," Karadzic said, before brushing off other questions and plunging into his armoured white Mercedes.

An IFOR officer, speaking on condition of anonymity, told AFP last week IFOR knows "almost all the time" the whereabouts of the Serb leader. IFOR is under no obligation to hunt down indicted criminals but if it comes across them, it can arrest them.

From a military point of view "this would not be difficult," the officer said, adding "it is a political question. It is something they will decide on at a very high level."

Colum Murphy, a spokesman for Carl Bildt the top civilian official overseeing the Bosnian peace process, said Thursday Karadzic's re-emergence as Serb leader "raises important questions about the peace process and about the implementation of the Dayton agreement as we enter the next few months."

"Sooner or later we're going to have to face up to the problem," a European diplomat said.

B-H: Serbs Claim Paris Conference Altered Dayton Accord

AU1404172196 Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian 13 Apr 96 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Trebinje Has Been Deprived of 118 Kilometers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Representatives of the Trebinje Communal Assembly and the Herzegovina Corps of the Army of the Serb Republic [RS] have held talks in that town with the representatives of the French IFOR [Implementation Force] about the implementation of the Dayton agreement, SRNA reports.

The Serb side drew attention to certain irregularities in the implementation of the Dayton agreement and pointed out the irregularities in the delineation with the Croat-Muslim Federation. Colonel Novak Milosevic stressed that in the Trebinje region, the RS has been deprived of 117.8 square km of the territory because of the changes made at the conference in Paris.

B-H: Serb TV: IFOR Troops 'Siding With the Muslims'

AU1204125796 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 9 Apr 96

[Report by Rade Mitic]

[FBIS Translated Text] More often than ever, and without any scruples, IFOR [Implementation Force] soldiers

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have lately been showing that they are not here to keep the peace and that the Dayton accord is for them nothing more than a transitional solution leading to the occupation of this part of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Since the Serb authorities and army cooperated from day one, NATO soldiers interpreted that as defeatism and frustration, i.e., as an opportunity to impose on the Serbs solutions that the people will not accept and that were neither planned nor specified in the Dayton accord. On the other hand, the forces in charge of implementing the peace agreement more and more openly support the Muslim-Croat federation government, condoning their excesses and incidents with undivided sympathy. British battalion special forces are now following in the footsteps of the Muslim army and police, demonstrating force and terrorizing the people living in the demarcation zone.

In the spirit of a true occupying force, they launched a commando raid last night around 2000 hours [1800 GMT] and stormed into a border police station of the Ostra Luka Police Department, the station closest to the border crossing between the Serb Republic and the Muslim-Croat federation on the road from Prijedor to Sanski Most. The police station was founded three months ago and its existence is in keeping with the Dayton accord. On that occasion, they took 13 rifles, two machine guns, and one stationary radio station. The assault on the Serb police appalled the inhabitants of Ostra Luka, because Muslim extremists wearing police uniforms have killed two Serbs and arrested and beat up several in the demarcation zone in the past 30 days. The people of Ostra Luka are now very worried and think about moving elsewhere.

May we remind you that, exactly a month ago in the Koprivna demarcation zone, Judge Nedo Dosenovic was killed while trying to enter Sanski Most. Furthermore, in the areas of Stara Rijeka and Tomina, two families who returned to their homes in the border area were captured and beaten up. The Lazic family of Koprivna came off worst. After being beaten up on two occasions—Mitar first, but then also Savan Lazic—their father Risto, a 70-year old disabled person, was killed on 3 April in Koprivna. Neither IFOR nor the civilian international police did anything about either case, thus unambiguously giving a green light to the Muslims to commit new crimes and stage more incidents, siding with the Muslims with a prejudiced view on political and other solutions in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. This definitely does no credit to the international community and NATO, especially as the British, an old European Christian nation, are, or at least should be, aware of what they are doing.

B-H: RS's Plavsic Discusses Elections With CE Official

AU1304163396 Banja Luka GLAS SRPSKI in Serbo-Croatian 11 Apr 96 p 11

[SRNA report: "Technical Difficulties About Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Biljana Plavsic, Serb Republic [RS] vice president, yesterday held talks in Banja Luka with a delegation of the Council of Europe [CE] on the upcoming elections and other aspects of the civilian part of the Dayton agreement, SRNA reports.

"The views of the CE's Committee for Political Issues do not differ from those of the RS," Plavsic said after the meeting.

"We have made some practical suggestions so that the elections, announced for September this year, could take place," she stressed and continued:

"The talks have been useful as we have pointed out some technical difficulties that are not only specific to the RS, but also to the Muslim-Croat federation."

Mr. Blecar [name as transliterated], head of the CE delegation, expressed satisfaction for being given the opportunity to meet with the senior RS representatives.

"The CE's objective is to facilitate freedom, democracy, human rights, and the protection for minorities, and to create conditions for a lasting peace and a better and more stable future," he stressed.

"We saw today that there is good political will here to implement the provisions of the Dayton agreement and to affirm the RS as a democratic society," the head of the European delegation said.

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Croatia: Granic Sees Entire Country 'Liberated' by Year End

LD1404165396 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 14 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At a public roundtable in Makarska [central Dalmatia] today, Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, spoke about the current political situation in Croatia and its relations with neighboring countries. Vedran Ribarevic reports from Makarska.

[Ribarevic] Croatia will be completely liberated by the end of the year, after which it will implement the pilot program and facilitate the return of refugees to four towns.

Seven agreements are to be signed with Belgrade these days, while the [Zagreb-Belgrade] highway will be reopened, railway and telecommunications links reestablished, and Dzeletovci [Eastern Slavonia oil fields currently exploited by Serbs] closed at the end of April or beginning of May.

Croatia is now in a new strategic position, so the normalization of relations with Belgrade is of great economic importance for our country, the whole of Europe, and Yugoslavia—which is a factor of extreme importance for the reintegration of our territory and overall peace in the region.

This was said at today's public round table in Makarska by Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister. [passage omitted]

Croatia: Bosnian Request To Visit 5 Arrestees Denied

LD1304150896 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 13 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The government of the Republic of Croatia has rejected a request from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Embassy in Zagreb to allow embassy representatives to visit five recently arrested persons, alleged by the Croatian Ministry of Interior to be citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina and to be preparing terorrist actions in Croatia. This was also confirmed to us by Ambassador to Croatia Kasim Trnka, who added that the names of the arrested were not yet known to the embassy. Nada al-Issa reports from Zagreb:

[Al-Issa] The Croatian authorities, in a reply to the Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Zagreb, say that a visit to the prisoners will not be possible before 16 April because of the investigation. After this date the Croatian authorities will review their decision as to whether to allow the visit at all.

We waited for days for this negative reply, Ambassador Kasim Trnka said and added that the visit is necessary in order to establish whether these really are citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as claimed by Croatia.

The Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has little information about them, even less than the Croatian papers. It does not have even their names. The government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina will send a reply to Croatia's note over the next few days in connection with the arrest of five persons near Senj, said the ambassador.

Bosnia-Herzegovina recalls that it wishes to cooperate in all cases to prevention terrorism and it would like to investigate this particular case together with Croatia, but Croatia has not yet filed an official request to this effect with the Bosnia-Herzegovina government except for mentioning in its protest note that it would appreciate help from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republic and Federation. No official request has been made to Sarajevo, the ambassador said.

The ambassador also said he would keep insisting that the visit be allowed because there are a number of things to be clarified, not just citizenship. [passage omitted]

Croatia: Public Prosecutor Discusses Bosnian Arrestees

AU1204154896 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 12 Apr 96 p 6

[Article by B. Peter: "Five in Prison, One on the Run"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Rijeka—The investigating center of the County Court in Rijeka is conducting the interrogation of members of the terrorist group from Bosnia-Herzegovina suspected of planning an act of international terrorism. "As soon as it has been completed, Veljko Miskulin, the investigating judge of the County Court, will formally file a petition to start an investigation into the group members, five men and one woman," Rijeka Public Prosecutor Drago Marincel stated yesterday. He has been authorized by the Zagreb public prosecutor to file the petition against these Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens, who were apprehended last Monday near Senj.

According to data collected so far, the group apprehended in Croatia involved five people all together, while a sixth is on the run and it is being assumed that it is this person who is the mastermind of the operation aimed at liquidating Abdic.

"The international terrorist group is charged with planning a criminal act of international terrorism, as defined in Article 15 of the Croatian Penal Code, which refers

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to criminal acts against humanity and international law," Marincel says, adding that there are material evidence and statements by the suspects about the planned assassination of Fikret Abdic. The assassination was to have taken place on the road between Rijeka and Opatija.

"Since the decision on the investigation has not been issued yet in written form, which I expect to happen as soon as my assistant returns from the interrogation, I can only reveal the initials of the suspects, who are being held in the Rijeka County Court prison. Those are D.D. (age 27), Z.Z. (aged 25), H.H. (aged 27), J.O. (aged 26), E.J. and female suspect S.N. (aged 20), all of them from Bihac. E.J. is on the run, so we do not have full data on him. At the moment of arrest, no weapons was found on these foreign nationals, but later on some were found hidden by the Rijeka-Opatija road, where Abdic's assassination was planned to take place," Rijeka Public Prosecutor Marincel said in conclusion.

Croatia: Bosnian Envoy Criticizes Handling of Arrestees

AU1204172596 Hanau NOVA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Apr 96 p 5

[Article by M.S.: "Unfounded Accusations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 11 April—Kasim Trnka, Ambassador of Bosnia-Herzegovina to Croatia, maintains that Bosnia-Herzegovina has no reason whatsoever to infiltrate terrorist groups into Croatia.

Ambassador Trnka is surprised that the Croatian authorities did not inform the Bosnia-Herzegovina Embassy about the arrest of the five Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens under suspicion of planning terrorist acts in Croatia or the Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities in Sarajevo, so, in accordance with diplomatic practice, he will investigate through state channels what it is all about.

In Trnka's assessment, the terms used to refer to this case, such as state terrorism or terrorist group infiltrated from Bosnia-Herzegovina, are very delicate and do not contribute to understanding in the overall relations between the two countries.

"Bosnia and Croatia are members of Interpol, so it would be logical for them to cooperate on this case, exchange information, and join forces to fight terrorism," Trnka said. Edhem Veladzic, police minister in the Government of the Una-Sana Canton, said that the cantonal authorities and security services still did not have any information on the case. "We expect official information from the Republic of Croatia, but at the moment we do not know either who is involved or what this is all about," Veladzic said, denying the existence of any link between the cantonal authorities and the group of people arrested.

Croatia: Tudjman, Gligorov Assess Talks, Bilateral Ties

LD1204171696 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Apr 96

[Statements given by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov following their talks in Zagreb on 12 April—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Tudjman] We in Croatia consider the official visit by the Macedonian president very important primarily because it is the first official visit to Croatia by the leader of independent, sovereign Macedonia [Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and because this visit is a continuation of friendly relations that have existed between the Croatian and Macedonian peoples for centuries. These relations have existed since the time of brothers Cyril and Methodius [11th century language reformers], from the printing of the first book in Macedonian here near Zagreb; then in our joint efforts and mutual support, political friendship, political cooperation between the Croatian and Macedonian peoples in the survival and development of our sovereignties, and achievement of national and state independence, which came to the fore in particular during the Second World War; throughout the period when the former Yugoslav socialist federal state existed and all the way up to the time of the collapse of the former Yugoslavia and the creation of independent states on its soil.

In the course of the talks our views on important problems of our states and this part of the world turned out to be very close, even identical. Here I would like to point out in particular that both Macedonia and Croatia believe that all states that have been created on the soil of the former Yugoslavia are equal successors to the former state and that this right cannot be seized exclusively by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Croatia and Macedonia also have identical attitude that our respective relations with neighboring countries have to be built on the mutual recognition of independence and sovereignty; we are opposed to all ideas of renewal, in whatever form—the former Yugoslav state, an Adriatic or Balkan confederation, or a union of southeast European states.

Both Mr. Gligorov and I believe that the best solution in this respect is to create conditions for the new world order in this region; we should all equally join the European institutions without joining or creating any special regional organizations.

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Finally, we believe that all conditions have been met for development of multifaceted and friendly economic, cultural, scientific, and all other relations between Croatia and Macedonia.

I think that this visit by President Gligorov and the Macedonian delegation will contribute to this aim.

[Gligorov, in Serbo-Croatian] I wish to support the views and conclusions presented by President Tudjman because truly there has never been any difficulty in agreeing on even the most delicate issues concerning Europe and the world, especially when it came to our two states and their independence and sovereignty.

Macedonia has been fighting for an independent state for the last 120 years, and it finally fulfilled this dream of its ancestors. It will never give up this dream. [passage omitted]

What has been happening in history and the fact that today we do not have any open questions, the fact that ours are two countries that can cooperate in all spheres unburdened by the past—this is of extreme importance for building ties between our economies, cultures, tourism, in everything that enriches human life, and contributes to the improvement of standard of living and development of civilization.

There is also no doubt that both Macedonia and Croatia have a pro-European orientation, that we see our future in the European Union.

I would like to say that it is obvious how our two economies complement each other. There used to be trade between us worth, according to some data, up to $1 billion—now it has plummeted to only $80 million. You can draw your own conclusions on all opportunities that we have missed in improving the economic situation in both countries and contributing to the stability of prices and currencies as these are important conditions for the foreign and domestic capital investment.

I see our future together and our cooperation with great confidence.

I would also like to congratulate President Tudjman, the Croatian government, and all other state bodies that have had the courage, the strength, the vision, to create the army that proved that Croatia not only could be defended, but that it could be an important military player in this part of the world. [passage omitted]

Croatia: River Drava Accord With Hungary Not Renewed

LD1304143596 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1300 GMT 13 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Hungary and Croatia will not renew the agreement on joint utilization of the River Drava because Hungary wants to create a national park alongside the river, while Croatia is planning to build a dam on it. Hungarian-Croatian consular agreements on visa-free travel, social security provisions, and mutual legal representation will remain valid. All this has been agreed on by representatives of the Hungarian and Croatian Foreign Ministries in Zagreb.

Croatia: Chief Investigator: Airport Instruments Not at Fault

AU1504112096 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 11 Apr 96 p 7

[Interview with Jure Kapetanovic, acting assistant to the minister of maritime affairs, transport, and communication, by Tanja Bozic, in Dubrovnik; date not given: "Flight Controller Did Not Make a Mistake"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At this moment the only person who can answer our question about the air crash in the vicinity of Dubrovnik is the chief of the Croatian team in the international committee that is investigating the causes of this accident. The joint work of the American and Croatian aviation experts is coordinated by an experienced flight instructor, Jure Kapetanovic, acting assistant to the minister of maritime affairs, transport, and communications of the Republic of Croatia, in charge of air traffic.

In accordance with the law in the case of an air crash, the investigation is carried out by a committee for the inspection of air traffic accidents. Within this, the minister of the ministry in charge, in this case the Minister of Maritime Affairs, Transport, and Communications, Zeljko Luzavec, appoints a committee that investigates the causes. The chief of the committee can involve also other experts from the field of aviation. We asked Jure Kapetanovic who has been involved into investigating this air crash.

[Kapetanovic] As after any air crash, in this one near Dubrovnik the investigative organs conduct the investigation precisely by the strictly outlined rules of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO). The Croatian part of the expert team consists of my coworkers Stanko Misetic, a professional pilot who graduated from the Aviation Academy in the United States, Ivan Keleminec, a captain experienced in flying Boeing 737's, Zeljko Kresic, representatives of MUP

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RH [Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia] (deputy head of the Airport Police Department), Sergio Francula, engineer of aircraft maintenance, with a Boeing 737 license and working experience in the United States Air Force, M.S. Zvonimir Zepic, expert for "avionix" aircraft navigation units, with 20 years of working experience in Canada, and other experts. Since it is a foreign airplane, it was our duty to inform the country of the producer, the country of registration, and the owner of the airplane, in this case the United States. The message was sent from Croatia's Ministry of Maritime Affairs, Transport, and Communications, so that the Americans were quick to send their committee, consisting of 26 members.

[Bozic] Why is the American committee so much more numerous?

[Kapetanovic] The reason for that is the extreme seriousness of this accident as well as the reputation of the passengers who lost their lives in it and the important offices they held in the U.S. Administration. The American expert team has brought the representatives of the U.S. Army, the U.S. Civil Aviation Administration, and the U.S. National Transport Security Bureau (NTSB), with which we will be cooperating during the whole investigation.

[Bozic] What will this investigation deal with?

[Kapetanovic] According to international regulations, which in such cases must be strictly followed, we have completed the first two phases, and at the moment we are in the third phase. The first step was to find the crash site. The investigation lasted from 15.30 to 18.05, until the airplane was found in the region of Straziste, 2.7 miles northeast of the airport. The second step followed—rescuing any surviving passengers. Thanks to the extraordinary efforts of Croatian policemen and others who dealt with the consequences of the accident, we tried to save the airline attendant from the wrecked plane. However, as a result of the weather conditions and the seriousness of her injuries, she unfortunately passed away. The third step is the investigation, which is currently under way. It is important to check all details by means of the airplane systems, checking the flight data, checking the flight data registration, registration of communications in the cockpit, as well as to analyze the documentation. Equally important is the analysis of the hard evidence found at the scene of the air crash, to assess the human factor in it, and gather all the testimonies of all possible witnesses who saw the airplane's flight and the moment of the crash. An analysis of the work method when rescuing passengers and extinguishing the fire, as well as the inspection of the flight control work, are the subject of investigation committee activities.

[Bozic] How far have you come with the investigation?

[Kapetanovic] We have been working daily on the ground in order to gather hard evidence. We have been searching a large area and gathering even the smallest fragments that could help us to create a complete picture of the Boeing 737 air crash involving Ronald Brown and his colleagues. All significant evidence has been carefully packed, marked, sorted, and prepared for further analyses. Most of them will be shipped to the laboratories in the United States, where they will be additionally examined, which will certainly take several weeks or months. At the end of every day the committee has a joint briefing at which we analyze the data gathered that day, and we plan a further course of investigation. Cooperation with the American colleagues is exceptionally good.

[Bozic] Have the Croats done their part of the job correctly during the admission of the airplane and later in the rescue efforts?

[Kapetanovic] Absolutely correct! On that day in the tower at Dubrovnik airport there was an experienced flight controller, instructor Igor Carmak, who performed his job without error. This has also been confirmed by the American experts of the Civil Aviation Administration. Also, all the instruments were in order. At the joint request of the investigating team, a specially adapted airplane has arrived from the American air base in Nuremberg, which has checked all the instruments used during landing. The speed and expert knowledge of the Croatian special forces at the air crash spot, as well as of the firemen, and medical staff, is beyond any doubt.

[Bozic] What will follow upon the end of the committee's work?

[Kapetanovic] After the comprehensive work that will continue in the United States, and will last for quite a while, and which will include numerous laboratory tests, and aviation experts' opinions from both sides, the final report will be prepared, which will, in fact, be the picture of the last moments of the flight and the crash of the airplane. The authorities of both the United States and Croatia will be given a copy of that report, which only then will be published.

[Box, p 7]

Dubrovnik Airport Is Safe

[Bozic] Will this air crash on 3 April raise suspicions about the safety of Dubrovnik airport and affect the foreign companies' flights?

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[Kapetanovic] Dubrovnik Airport and its navigation system is not, whatever the rumors were, the cause of this air crash. From the day this airport was opened in 1962, there has been no incident there, let alone any air crash. The layman's claims that more up-to-date instruments would have prevented the air crash of the Boeing 737 that crashed 3 April are complete fabrications. The navigational instruments of Dubrovnik airport are sufficient for a safe landing. Not even more modern or more precise instruments, if they had been in use there, would have been able to prevent the accident with such a degree of error in its path. With the equipment available that kind of approach has been used since 1992, and to date 3,500 approaches have been performed with such a Boeing 737 series 200. Therefore there is no doubt about the accuracy and adequacy of the instruments all the more because even after this crash, over the last couple of days, several dozen airplanes have landed, following the same procedure.

Croatia: Beli Manastir Serbs To Combat 'Defeatism'

AU1204174896 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 11 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Today's session of the municipal government chaired by Vaso Zigic assessed the political and military situation, discussed the role and tasks of Beli Manastir radio and television, the implementation of the program to settle Serb refugees in Baranja, as well as spring sowing. We have a telephone report on the 85th session of the executive council of the Beli Manastir municipal assembly.

[Begin recording] The executive council of the Beli Manastir municipal assembly, as a contribution to the comprehensive analysis and the assessment of the current political and military situation on the territory of the Beli Manastir municipality, accepted reports by the head of the Beli Manastir secretariat of the interior, commander of the Baranja Division, head of the municipal administration, and director of the Beli Manastir radio and television.

The programs, opinions, and proposals presented in those reports will be used by the executive council within its jurisdiction and authority and the necessary steps and activities will be taken to improve the political and military situation in the Beli Manastir municipality. The executive council calls for the full coordination of all state institutions and maximal involvement in resolving all important issues and problems discussed at the session, which have a bearing on the political and military situation. The everyday activities of those institutions must focus on denying and dispelling various disinformation designed to spread defeatism, which we are encountering increasingly often. The municipal government says that those who spread rumors must be discovered and charges brought against them. Beli Manastir radio and television plays a particularly important role in that and responsible editorial policy and the programs must aim to inform the citizens better about all the important and interesting issues. That is the most efficient way to fight these negative phenomena. Furthermore, together with the union of soldiers and representatives of the Baranja Division command, the executive council will continue to inform the public about topical issues by organizing various gatherings of citizens.

To implement decisions made at a previous session of the executive council on the settlement program and housing for refugees from occupied parts of the Republic of Serb Krajina in the Beli Manastir municipality, the executive council demands that the assembly's expert service and executive council, having consulted deputies of the municipal assembly, the union of soldiers, and the union of refugees and displaced persons, prepare, for the next session, proposals for the appointment of new executive councils in those neighborhood communities that were not fully willing to cooperate and act to implement this program, i.e. preparing housing for displaced persons in their areas. [sentence as heard] The executive council of the Beli Manastir municipal assembly believes that the present law on removing from the Beli Manastir municipality must remain in effect and that the secretariat of the interior and police departments, together with the military police, must provide a system of checking things that are being removed from the municipality via the 51st Vojvodina Division Bridge, so that nothing can be taken out of Baranja without a permit issued by the secretariat for economy and finances, which has jurisdiction over this.

The session of the municipal government also pointed out that nothing extraordinary is happening in Baranja, that people are engaged in their spring activities, and that the climate of work is paving the way for normal everyday life. Furthermore, the authorities are paying special attention to production to contribute to the normalization of life and lasting existence of people in Baranja. The Serb population and the advantages of a multiethnic community guarantee that Baranja is Serb land. [sentence as heard] There is enough space and Baranja is behind its territory and people. [sentence as heard] There are many industrious and dignified people in our municipality, capable businessmen, and enormous potentials; we still have not used up all our resources and our confidence is based on knowledge, will, power, and might. The international mediators must learn to appreciate this, because the results achieved by our municipality command respect. Of course, there are

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problems, especially in business. There will always be problems, but we must learn to solve them. Many of the problems of spring sowing are being solved in cooperation with business partners and institutions from our mother country. [passage omitted]

Another decision says that, in line with the regulation on the cultivation of land, if those who have been given land do not cultivate it by 15 May, it will be given to cooperatives or individuals to plow and sow it and no compensation will be paid. [end recording]

Croatia: HND Official on Closer Cooperation With HNS, HDZ

AU1504100896 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Apr 96 p 8

[Interview with HND Vice President and Secretary General Slavko Degoricija by Slavica Lukic; place and date not given: "Meeting Between Tudjman and Mesic Is No Sensation at All"]

[FBIS Translated Text] What is the truth regarding the story about the uniting of the two oppositional parties, the Croatian Independent Democrats [HND] and the Croatian National Party [HNS]? After several articles in the papers according to which the leaderships of those two parties had approached each other, Stjepo Martinovic, secretary general of the HNS, has issued a statement. He refers to the writing of the VJESNIK journalist who announced the possibility of the HNS and HND merging, as groundless and malevolent insinuation, and resolutely claims that there will be no merging of those two parties.

We asked Slavko Degoricija about his party's reaction to the statement issued by the HNS.

[Degoricija] I have not talked to Martinovic, and it is a pity we were not in touch before he sent that letter. Regarding our party, the letter is correct, but regarding the press articles it is too harsh. He himself knows that we have been talking about closer cooperation between our parties, and one can think of those talks from one perspective or another. So why should one reproach the journalist if he has interpreted it in his own way.

[Lukic] Can you explain what kind of closer cooperation you discussed, that is, what form that cooperation should take?

[Degoricija] The talks about closer cooperation between the oppositional parties of the center did not start only recently. They started as early as in May 1994, at the time of the parliamentary crisis. We, the HND, suggested it, and at that time there was not too much enthusiasm about it among the oppositional parties. However, meanwhile, the parties have created their profiles, so that we have the left, the right, and the democratic center. The parties of the center have very similar programs and identical political objectives, and it is normal that we should talk about tighter association. Whether it will be in the form of a party bloc, party coalition, or even merging into one party, that is a matter for the parties themselves to decide. Thus, there are the talks between the HNS and the HND. Perhaps it has leaked to the public too early, but the process itself will not suffer from that because I believe it has been moving forward quite nicely.

[Lukic] There are some assumptions that the merging of those two parties could provoke a crisis in the oppositional coalition alliance. What do you think?

[Degoricija] Nothing bad will happen to the coalition alliance, it can only benefit from it. The process has been going on, the talks are intensive and not only between our two parties but also in a larger sense. Much depends upon the future election law. When we know for sure what it will look like, then the opposition will organize itself in whatever way will help it to achieve the best election result possible.

[Lukic] Nevertheless, a part of the HNS does not want a tighter merging, let alone an alliance with your party?

[Degoricija] Of course there is some resistance because it takes all sorts.

[Lukic] Simultaneously with your talks to the HNS, the president of your party was invited to a meeting with President Tudjman. Can you inform us more precisely about that meeting?

[Degoricija] Mesic was invited to meet with Tudjman on 3 April. That is perhaps a surprise for the public, but not for the people dealing in politics. At the session of the Party Presidency Mesic will inform us in detail about that meeting, but what I can tell you is that it was a meeting of the two presidents of parties, at which they discussed the points in which the two parties agree, and in which they disagree. The HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] also understands that there will be no individual returns from our party into the HDZ, that time is behind us. The HND is now an established party that has survived all the pressures, and which has been gaining strength on the ground.

[Lukic] What does President Tudjman offer to the HND?

[Degoricija] He offers partnership regarding all the political issues on which we agree.

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[Lukic] It seems hardly creditable because a month ago Mesic was accused of collaborating with Libyan or who-knows-what secret services.

[Degoricija] I would say that phase has passed and has been survived. I do not know why Mesic's meeting with Tudjman is such a sensation. Tudjman has been meeting with Racan and SDP [Social Democratic Party], with Tomcic and HSS [Croatian Peasants Party], Budisa and HSLS [Croatian Social Liberal Party], and all of that has caused no sensation like this one. The HDZ finally got used to the fact that we, too, are a party.

[Lukic] When you say that a partnership between HND and HDZ was discussed, what exactly do you mean by that—the coalition or merging of HND and HDZ?

[Degoricija] We can in no way talk about merging. However, President Tudjman and Stipe Mesic did not talk about it. That was their first meeting after a long time and their talks were only general.

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Poland: Kwasniewski Departs for EBRD Meeting in Sofia

LD1304083896 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 0700 GMT 13 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] President Aleksander Kwasniewski has left for Sofia, where the annual meeting of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] is due to begin.

During the one-day visit, President Kwasniewski will hold talks with Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev and Prime Minister Zhan Videnov about Sofia's aspirations to membership in the Central European Free Trade Association [CEFTA].

Deputy Prime Minister Grzegorz Kolodko and Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, president of the Polish National Bank, have been in Sofia since yesterday. At the session, they will make a presentation of investment projects in which Poland counts on the bank's financial participation. Deputy Prime Minister Grzegorz Kolodko has not ruled out direct Polish investment in Bulgaria, but only after Sofia settles its debt of 124 million transfer rubles.

Poland: Kwasniewski Interviewed on Moscow Talks

WS1204145696 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 12 Apr 96 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski by Wieslaw S. Debski; place and date not given: "Such Dialogue Is Needed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Debski] Mr. President, does the fact that NATO expansion did not dominate your talks with Boris Yeltsin prove that the Russians have already resigned themselves to our stand on this issue?

[Kwasniewski] The problem of NATO expansion was discussed quite extensively. Both sides confirmed the stands they had taken earlier. It turned out that these issues can be discussed calmly and that it is possible to present arguments to each other. I presented the Russian president with our arguments; I explained why Poland wants to join the alliance. President Yeltsin, in turn, explained to me why Russia fears expansion of the alliance, particularly the deployment of nuclear weapons in Central Europe.

Such dialogue between our country is very necessary; it will serve Europe well.

[Debski] At one point, Boris Yeltsin said that a new road must be sought on this issue. He added, however, that he himself does not really believe that this is possible. Should we interpret this as a new element in Russia's stand?

[Kwasniewski] I believe that this was a significant fact. Today no one has any illusions any longer. In my opinion, both President Yeltsin and other Eastern and Western politicians know that NATO must be a crucial element in the construction of a new system of European security. It must be the pillar, the basis of this system.

There is not enough money in Europe to finance construction of a security system from scratch; for this reason, it is necessary to take advantage of the existing structures.

[Debski] You talked with the main presidential candidates in Russia. There is talk in Russia, however, that you endorsed Boris Yeltsin. Why?

[Kwasniewski] A foreign politician is not entitled to endorse anyone in elections that are to be held in a foreign country. I myself would have protested if anyone had wanted to endorse a candidate in last year's elections in Poland.

I met with the main presidential candidates because Polish-Russian relations will largely depend on the future president. We do not know who will eventually win. We would like for Boris Yeltsin, as well as Grigoriy Yavlinskiy and Gennadiy Zyuganov, to get a good understanding of Poland's policies; we want them to know our intentions and our arguments. This is what I discussed with each of them.

However, let me reiterate that the elections themselves are an issue of the Russians and nobody else's. I believe this is the only correct policy. Incidentally, it would be inappropriate if anyone tried to prove that I attempted to exert influence on the preelection situation in Russia.

I would also like to stress that I respect Boris Yeltsin very much for what he has done for Polish-Russian relations. He was the one to order Russian troops out of Poland; thanks to his efforts, the truth about the Katyn crime was finally revealed; he signed the bilateral treaty. Even President Walesa called him by his first name and vice versa. We will not forget any of Boris Yeltsin's merits.

[Debski] During the visit, you placed the main emphasis on development of economic cooperation. Did new possibilities arise in this field?

[Kwasniewski] Yes, absolutely. This cooperation has been developing increasingly more successfully for some time now. Last year our trade volume went up 34 percent. During the visit, we talked about creating conditions that would make this cooperation easier.

We discussed, among other things, long-term agreements on the delivery of oil and natural gas, agreements

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on transport cooperation, on our presence in the Sea of Okhotsk, and on joint investment projects.

I had an opportunity to meet State Duma Chairman Gennadiy Seleznev, and now I believe that the ratification process of the agreement on the protection of investments, which has been dragging on since 1992, will finally be completed. Issues regarding insurance of investments and avoidance of double taxation will also be finalized more quickly.

We also discussed banking cooperation and cooperation in financial transactions. It is abnormal that these transactions are made with the help of "moneybags" or through New York-based banks. We were promised that Russian licenses would be granted to Polish banks; we, in turn, promised the same for Russian banks. Thanks to this, we will finally be able to carry out normal, civilized financial operations.

In Russia I was accompanied by a group of businessmen who held talks on specific projects in Moscow and Irkutsk. They developed many new contacts; some of them even talked about contracts. The Russian market is huge; there are many possibilities. We should take advantage of them.

[Debski] What impressions did you get at the meeting with the Polonia community in Irkutsk Oblast on 11 April?

[Kwasniewski] It was the second time I met with the Polonia community in Irkutsk. Previously, I visited the town in 1990. Frankly, it was an entirely new, shocking experience. Those people, their ancestors, experienced personal tragedies. They survived the czar and even the Soviet Union. Despite that, they still feel themselves to be Poles at heart; they want to sing Polish songs and speak the Polish language; they want to read Polish newspapers.

I believe that Poland has a moral debt to pay to them. We must remember that there are people in Siberia who were not seeking success; they did not find themselves there because they wanted to be there. They are in a special situation, which requires special attention from us. It is a good thing we visited Irkutsk.

It is also a good thing that a Polish priest works in Irkutsk. I want to stress this particularly in TRYBUNA: He is the pillar of Polish tradition in Siberia.

I hope we will not forget Poles in Siberia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus. They are people whose lives reflect a most tragic history.

[Debski] Thank you for the interview, Mr. President.

Poland: More on Politicians' Reaction to Moscow Talks

WS1204133396 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Apr 96 pp 1-2

[Article by Marcin Dominik Zdort and F.F.: "Politicians on Aleksander Kwasniewski's Visit to Russia; Without Extraordinary Results"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Politicians tend to evaluate Aleksander Kwasniewski's visit to Russia favorably. Nearly all, however, stress that becausse his meetings with Russian leaders were held during the presidential election campaign in Moscow, any extraordinary results simply could not be expected. Only Jan Olszewski, chairman of the Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland [ROP], is of the opinion that the visit was unnecessary.

Not To Turn Our Backs on Each Other

"The assumption that President Kwasniewski would persuade the Russians to change their stand on NATO expansion was false," believes Sejm Deputy Andrzej Urbanczyk. The press spokesman of the Democratic Left Alliance recalls that "every country has its own interests, and it is necessary to talk about those interests and not turn our backs on each other." "It is normal that neighboring countries have more frequent political and economic contacts with each other. When I listen to commentaries on the visit, I can detect overtones of disappointment, whereas I myself cannot see any reason for disillusionment: This visit has most certainly contributed to the development of our economic relations. It has also intensified the political dialogue, which is the basis of international relations," believes Urbanczyk. Asked whether the period before presidential elections is a good time to hold talks with Russia, he replied: "It is always the case that some elections are held, either presidential or parliamentary."

We Are Making Up for What Solidarity Has Wasted

"I am glad that we have finally begun to intensify our relations with the biggest state of the former Soviet Union," says Jacek Soska, a Sejm deputy of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and a deputy agriculture minister. According to him, "we can have different views on Russia. However, Poland has always traded with Russia—even during the partitions and after World War I."

"Today we—this also goes for Kwasniewski's visit to Moscow—are making up for what Solidarity has wasted since 1989 because, for political reasons, our trade was reduced to nil," believes the PSL deputy, and praises

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the president for "attempting to create an atmosphere of normalization." "The Germans are holding talks with Russia, and they are not ashamed of this, whereas we are making an issue of this visit," Jacek Soska adds.

Primary Lines Maintained

Tadeusz Mazowiecki stresses that he can only comment on Aleksander Kwasniewski's Moscow trip on the basis of press reports, which provide insufficient information for him to carry out a more profound analysis. "It is a good thing that Aleksander Kwasniewski maintained the primary lines of Polish foreign policy," says the former prime minister. He believes that the main problem was the timing of the visit. "The time in which the visit took place was not particularly favorable due to the fact that elections are to be held soon in Russia. However, I do not think it would have been more reasonable to put off the visit to a later time; the visit happened to be scheduled for this date, and it took place in such a situation," says the Freedom Union politician.

He Moved Successfully Among Reefs

"It was a difficult visit," says Tomasz Nalecz. According to the leader of the Union of Labor [UP], Aleksander Kwasniewski "managed to successfully move among the reefs of the Russian election campaign." "Since he declared that in the first months of his presidency he would visit all our neighbors, he should also visit Russia. If he had deferred the Russian trip, he would also have had to postpone his visits to the other neighboring countries, as well," believes Nalecz, who did not see any "big mistakes or blunders made during this visit." The UP deputy admits that the Polish president "has not made great progress" in our relations with Russia but believes that "the possible results will be noticeable only after some time." "In our relations with Russia we ought to guard our independence and at the same time see to it that these relations are good, so that the great Russian nation will remain impervious to the arguments that Poland is being changed into a bulwark aimed against Russia. I think Aleksander Kwasniewski bore this in mind during the visit," Nalecz says.

The Wrong Interlocutor

According to ROP, the president's visit to Moscow was unnecessary. ROP Chairman Jan Olszewski believes that the Polish side should hold talks on integration with NATO only with the members of the alliance. In his opinion, holding negotiations with Russia is tantamount to our consent to the limitation of Poland's sovereignty. "According to Yeltsin, the presidents reached agreement that the Polish-Russian talks on NATO expansion should be continued and that they should not be expected to end promptly. If President Kwasniewski accepted such an attitude, this would mean that we have surrendered to the Russian tactics of sabotaging and postponing the process of Poland's integration with NATO," a statement issued by ROP reads.

A Specialist of Bad Dates

"President Kwasniewski proved that he is a specialist on making trips to the East on inappropriate dates," believes Ryszard Czarnecki, a member of the Chief Council of the Christian-National Union. "First, he visited Belarus at a time when the democratic opposition was staging protests against the agreement with Russia; then he went to Russia right before the presidential elections."

According to Czarnecki, the date of the Russian trip "made it impossible right at the outset to resolve any problems; as a result, the visit was totally useless." "The visit certainly did not result in a breakthrough; it even seems to me that the president accepted some of the Russian conditions, which place us in not a particularly good starting position," says Ryszard Czarnecki, adding that it is too bad that "at the moment when publications with false information on the Katyn crime are being circulated in the Russian parliament, Kwasniewski has decided to pay only a private visit to Katyn [a forest where thousands of Polish army officers were killed by the Soviets during World War II]."

Turning Poland Into a Satellite Country

Leszek Moczulski believes that the fact that Aleksander Kwasniewski allowed the recognition of Russia's right to assess whether or not Poland can become a member of international alliances was a step toward turning Poland into a satellite country. "The issue of our entry to NATO must not be a topic of negotiations with a third party," the leader of the Confederation for an Independent Poland stated at a news conference on 11 April. He criticized Kwasniewski, saying that he was unable to react to the anti-Polish campaign waged by the Russian press before his visit. He also did not like the fact that he agreed to visit Katyn and Siberia outside the program of the official visit; he went there without a representative of the Russian Government. "In this way, the Russians cut themselves off from recognizing these sites, which are symbols in our relations," Moczulski said.

Poland: Oleksy To Break Silence Over Spy Accusations

LD1304224996 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2100 GMT 13 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Jozef Oleksy, leader of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP] [and ex-Prime Minister], has said that he does not intend to

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continue his silence in association with the accusations [made against him] of collaboration with a foreign intelligence service.

[Begin recording] [Oleksy] The time is approaching when I will speak out—and very clearly, at that. I have not done this until now, sticking to the principle that the law must have its say so that things can only be commented upon after that. Unfortunately, things have been the other way around with this case, and someone is probably going to have to be ashamed of this in the end.

[Unidentified correspondent] Oleksy also commented upon the recent statement by Deputy Sejm Speaker Marek Borowski that the Democratic Left Alliance is going to be transformed into a political party.

[Oleksy] The Alliance is an alliance, and the SDRP is a very signigicant component thereof. It is a Western-type party, and the SDRP has no reason to seek a new place on the political map. On the other hand, there is a matter of debate as to the alliance because, in time, it will be political parties and only they that will mark out the character of political life.

[Correspondent] Jozef Oleksy was participating in a meeting of the SDRP Provincial Council in Opole. [end recording]

Poland: Former Prime Minister Oleksy Interviewed

WS1204144096 Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 2 Apr 96 p 3

[Interview with Jozef Oleksy, chairman of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic and former prime minister, by Leszek Luczak and Roman Zielinski; place and date not given: "To Take Revenge for His Son"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [GAZETA POZNANSKA] In one of the interviews, you declared yourself to be an opponent of monarchy. After the visit of Queen Elizabeth II, are you fed up with royalty?

[Oleksy] I am not against Queen Elizabeth II. I regard her as a nice monarch. I met with her during the dinner given by the president. And that settles it! This is as much as I can say.

[GAZETA POZNANSKA] The members of your party seem to be concerned about the fact that you are not received by prominent people coming to our country. Earlier, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke refused to meet you, and now you were not invited to the dinner with the queen.

[Oleksy] Holbrooke holds a low position of an assistant secretary, so, if it were not for the media, nobody would know that there was any matter to deliberate over. At that time, I was the prime minister in office, and I did not need to receive him at all. Everybody received him with honors, though I do not know why. Perhaps because he was leaving his post at that time. All I can say is that Americans were in touch with me all the time during his visit.

[GAZETA POZNANSKA] What about the queen's refusal to meet you?

[Oleksy] When it comes to the queen, I have nothing more to say.

[GAZETA POZNANSKA] Let us change the subject, although we cannot escape women again. You managed to sign an accord with the All-Polish Trade Unions Agreement [OPZZ], sealed with a kiss by Ewa Spychalska [chairwoman of OPZZ]. The discussion was heated—the OPZZ even threatened to leave the Left Democratic Alliance [SLD]. Reportedly, out of all contentious issues, you only failed to solve the problem of whether 1 May will be a "manic" picnic or an ordinary parade.

[Oleksy] That is true. We have not settled this problem yet. But it was not the subject of the earlier controversy that led to the signing of the accord.

[GAZETA POZNANSKA] What did you offer to the head of OPZZ that made her give in? (At one point, she even suspended her chairmanship of the SLD club—ed.)

[Oleksy] We simply discussed the objections that had been raised earlier. We reached an agreement on some of the issues. Now we will try to make the course of the events, which are of interest to the OPZZ, more satisfactory to them than has been the case so far. Both sides have approved of this.

[GAZETA POZNANSKA] Have you already gotten acquainted with the materials sent to the prosecutor's office, which may constitute grounds for your indictment?

[Oleksy] No, I have not.

[GAZETA POZNANSKA] Do you not have any access to these materials?

[Oleksy] Why should I have access? The present investigation is not being carried out against me. Very few people are aware of this! I am not a party to this case. I could have been a party had the charges been brought against me. Milczanowski [former interior minister] is too shrewd a lawyer to make such a mistake. He put it this way: He notified the prosecutor's office of the possibility of a crime's having been committed, and not that a crime was committed. What is under way now is the investigation based on Milczanowski's

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accusations. Thus, I am not a party from a formal point of view. But obviously everybody knows what is being investigated.

[GAZETA POZNANSKA] After the charges of alleged treason had been made, did you try to get in touch with Alganov?

[Oleksy] You must be joking! That was all I needed! I do not know where one should look for him, let alone seek contact with him. That would have made the prosecutor's office and the opposition walk on air! I have not seen him for a long time.

[GAZETA POZNANSKA] Reportedly, it is Alganov's statements that incriminate you most. Did you not want to talk with him to explain the situation, to learn the role he played?

[Oleksy] He has explained the situation himself by making a statement that there is no connection between me and the charges that have been brought against me. [Foreign Minister] Primakov, who was in Poland not long ago, made clear and firm statements about that case anyway. After all, he was the head of those services. Moreover, he even went so far as to say that he was really surprised that anyone should have come up with such an idea.

[GAZETA POZNANSKA] President Kwasniewski, after a long, late night conversation with you, said that your biggest problem would be to explain the whole affair to your son. Have you succeeded in doing this?

[Oleksy] My 13-year-old son has not spoken with me about this issue. For me, that is the most alarming thing. He watches TV news, reads papers he has never read. If I wanted to take revenge on somebody for something, it would be for my son!

[GAZETA POZNANSKA] Do you still maintain that this is a political provocation?

[Oleksy] Yes, I do.

[GAZETA POZNANSKA] Whose?

[Oleksy] This is one of the things that cannot be easily explained. I will obviously take care of this as it is of great importance to me. I do not want to express my opinion about it now because there are different hypotheses, clues, and evidence. I do not think this is the time to discuss them.

[GAZETA POZNANSKA] The opposition has not stood to gain anything from this...

[Oleksy] It has not gained much, although it did expect to!

[GAZETA POZNANSKA] Perhaps it was your hidden opponents within your party who stood to gain from it?

[Oleksy] Such a possibility is being considered, too. But first, I would rather learn the game my declared opponents are playing, and not the other way around.

[GAZETA POZNANSKA] The Kuron, Modzelewski, and Kuratowska initiative to set up a new left wing met with your curt, "We can do without it..."

[Oleksy] My words referred to the addressing of the initiative because it was not addressed to us [as published].

[GAZETA POZNANSKA] You were appalled that a label was pinned on the SLD again. The appeal was addressed to the nonpostcommunist left wing. Because you were not invited, you drew the conclusion that there was no room for the SLD in that initiative.

[Oleksy] This initiative would be more interesting and obliging had it been formed as a general appeal to broaden the left wing front. Since they stipulated the condition that this was addressed to the nonpostcommunist left wing, they limited the number of participants.

[GAZETA POZNANSKA] At the SdRP congress in Poznan, you indicated to your party members that there was a need to make new settlements with the church. Is this some kind of flirtation with the Catholic electorate?

[Oleksy] No, it is not because the Catholic electorate votes for the SLD anyway. I would be naive to expect that casting such program spells would result in a larger number of voters. What we are referring to is a certain image of the left wing, which is to consist of not taking for granted the left wing's permanent position and influences in such a Catholic society—if the left wing ever happened to be, in some way, opposed and hostile to religion [sentence as published].

Poland: Commission Discusses Report on Arms Trade Deals

WS1204121996 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 12 Apr 96 p 2

[Report by "AMP": "National Defense Commission: BWP's and Mercedes Vehicles—OK"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Parliamentary Defense Commission will suggest changes in the public orders law that are to give priority to the Polish defense industry. Such is the conclusion of yesterday's parliamentary debates over two Supreme Chamber of Control reports on last year's conspicuous cases of trade deals conducted by the Polish Armed Forces. The military had

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bought all-terrain Mercedes vehicles from the Sobieslaw Zasada firm and had sold armored BWP-2 Personnel carriers to Angola. The debates took place behind closed doors.

The Commission admitted that the Ministry of National Defense had infringed the law while inviting bids for the all-terrain vehicles because it failed to notify the Office of Public Orders. However, the report states that the economic interests of the Armed Forces and the state were not endangered. The same companies would have bid anyway.

There were no controversies over the profitability of selling the BWP-2 carriers to Angola. They had been intended to arm the First Division but turned out to be insufficient. The sale price was over twice as high as the price for which they had been purchased from the USSR.

Poland: Central Bank Head on Curbing Inflation

WS1504073096 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Apr 96 p 9

[Article by Grazyna Rakowicz, under the "...And in the Country" rubric: "NBP President on Inflation and Interest Rates"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, president of the National Bank of Poland [NBP] who visited Torun yesterday, was asked by RZECZPOSPOLITA about the bank's policy on this year's interest rates. The NBP head refused to answer the question; she stressed that, as far as this was concerned, March was a very disturbing month—the market interest rates went up 0.2 percent more than predicted. The NBP president also expressed fears that it is not very likely that inflation would go down to a mere 5 percent, which is envisioned in [Finance Minister] Grzegorz Kolodko's "Package 2000." This is because the measures that are being taken to reduce inflation are being slowed down, and the time factor is being ignored—especially as regards the reform of the social security system. According to Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, combating inflation is more difficult due to the increase in foreign-exchange reserves, which, in itself, is not a disturbing phenomenon. She believes that it is possible to stifle inflation by curbing the increase in food prices and continuing the privatization processes.

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Romania: Defense Minister, German Counterpart Interviewed

AU1304200796 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1600 GMT 13 Apr 96

[Interview with German Defense Minister Volker Ruehe and Romanian Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca, by Mircea Motrici, at Suceava Airport on 13 April—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] After a trip to the northern part of Moldavia, German Minister of Defense Volker Ruehe left for home. At Suceava Airport, the German minister and his Romanian counterpart, Gheorghe Tinca, assessed the results of this visit to our correspondent Mircea Motrici.

[Motrici] Mr. Ruehe, I would like you to sum up your visit to Romania.

[Begin Ruehe recording] I am very pleased with this visit; it has brought us even closer. I held very good political talks with all those who have political responsibilities: the president of your country, the minister of foreign affairs, the prime minister, defense minister, and with representatives of the opposition—Petre Roman, for example. I also had the opportunity to visit Sibiu and Bukovina now. For me this has been a very interesting program and enriched my impressions of Romania.

I believe that Romania has decided to follow the course of European integration.

[Motrici] How do you assess the meetings held in Bucharest?

[Ruehe] In Bucharest, where I was last summer, I met again with old acquaintances and friends and we held more intensive and very good talks. In Germany we are very happy that President Iliescu is coming for a visit.

[Motrici] Minister Gheorghe Tinca, would you please assess the visit of the German defense minster in Romania?

[Tinca] Based on the impression that this part of our country, South Bukovina, left on Mr. Ruehe, I believe that it could be a window or maybe a door for Romania's entry in Europe. He was very impressed by what he saw at Voronet [Monastery] and also at Sucevita and I cannot exactly quote what he said, however, he was constantly saying it is part of Europe.

I have the impression that our connection with the modern world is made through Germany and this can be felt in our country. We know that Germany is the first of those countries that have invested in our country, followed by South Korea, however, we will see... I have the impression that in the future, this process will increase. I can detect a certain interest of Germany here, which understands what East Europe is and probably the attention that it will grant to this area and specifically to Romania, will increase.

[Motrici] How do you assess the contacts with Germany?

[Tinca] On a military level they are excellent; if we remember that in 1992 there were only about seven or eight joint activities, while in 1995 we had 63 joint activities. This year we have scheduled 40, and 31 have already been carried out. [end recording]

Romania: Reform Minister Comments on Privatization Process

AU1304160896 Bucharest JURNALUL NATIONAL in Romanian 3 Apr 96 pp 16, 17

[Interview with Mircea Cosea, president of the Council for Economic Strategy, Coordination, and Reform, by Sabin Gagiu; place and date not given: "Coupon Distribution and Subscription Conformed to the Reality of Today's Romania"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Gagiu] Mr. President, the subscription period [of the privatization coupons] has concluded. Is any information available regarding the percentage of those who subscribed?

[Cosea] I can give you no exact percentage, because post offices worked until 0400. Today (Monday) [1 April] I received some figures from various counties, and it seems that after a first evaluation, which should be completed by tonight, we will approach a proportion of 70 percent. I believe we will even exceed 70 percent. In other words, the proportion of the coupons subscribed for various companies, in my opinion, will reach 70 to 72 percent. (A few minutes after this answer, Mircea Cosea was informed that a number of 12,526,699 coupons were registered, which represents of proportion of 74.8 percent of the total number of distributed coupons. Out of these, 85.72 percent were subscribed for economic companies, while 14.28 percent have been handed in to the FPP [Private Property Trust Fund]. Judging from a different angle, out of the total number of coupons, 12,427,021, or 74.2 percent, were subscribed for companies on "Cosea's list," while 99,678 were registered with the FPP for 661 economic companies which are not included in the aforementioned list—editor's note.)

[Gagiu] You asserted that this stage of the large-scale privatization represents a success. Mr. President, how do you account for such an assessment?

[Cosea] I tried to refrain from using the term success, because I associate this stage with our program, which

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is to last over a longer period and which will continue to face difficulties. What I said was that I am very satisfied and that I consider this second stage a success. Why? Because this second stage actually prepares the next one, that is, the one that genuinely means privatization, namely the development of a capital market and the beginning of the process of trading shares. It is clear that to make the capital market function in Romania—in our assessment, as well as in that of the USAID [U.S. Agency for International Development], which assists us in this process of developing a capital market—it was necessary that a minimum proportion of 60 percent of the coupons should be subscribed. As you could see, this percentage has been exceeded by far. Considering that people may continue to subscribe, but only at the FPP, until the end of April, I think I can be very satisfied. [passage omitted]

Romania: Defense Council Holds Session on Crime

96P20385A Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 23-24 Mar 96 p 2

[Article by Doru Dragomir: "Economic-Financial Infractions: Organized Crime, Corruption, and Illegal Arms and Narcotics Trafficking Affect the Transition Process and National Security"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A session of the Supreme Council for the Defense of the Country [CSAT] was held on Thursday [21 March] under the chairmanship of Ion Iliescu.

The agenda covered the most important problems to the defense and national security of Romania.

In light of the importance of the territorial infrastructure—defined in Law 45/1994 on national defense as a basic component of the national defense system—the Council examined the general situation on the basis of the report presented by the general staff of the Army.

Analyzing, on the basis of the available information, the resolution of the process for admitting new members to NATO, the CSAT approved of the participation of a Romanian delegation, along with a delegation from the [NATO] alliance, in the bilateral discussions on the expansion of the alliance, which will take place this year at NATO general headquarters.

The CSAT discussed the briefings presented by the Ministry of Justice, the Public Ministry [as published] and the Ministry of Interior on the evolution of the phenomenon of violation of the law and on measures to prevent and combat crime. It was stressed that economic and financial violations of the law, organized crime, corruption, and illicit traffic in weapons and narcotics represent especially serious phenomena which affect the normal development of the transition process and also threaten national security, and that decisive and immediate measures are necessary to combat and eradicate this scourge.

The council approved of the measures taken by the government to establish the Consultative Council for Preventing and Combatting Crime, of which state structures responsible for law and order and civil society bodies will be members. The CSAT recommended the organization of special teams, composed of prosecutors and police officers, for the purpose of fighting organized crime, economic and financial violations, and illicit traffic in weapons and narcotics.

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Federal

FRY: Lilic Views Country's International Position

AU1404162196 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Apr 96

["Excerpt" from interview with FRY President Zoran Lilic to Kragujavac Radio; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The position of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the past few months has significantly improved. We all know that. Our country—thanks primarily to its consistent—I would say, as I often say— peacemaking policy, the policy that has not only marked the path to peace but also the policy that has marked the path to principles, cooperation, and dialogue, thanks to this very constructive contribution by the FRY to the peace process—has fully affirmed itself as the key factor of peace and stability. Not only on the territory of the former Yugoslavia but also throughout the Balkans and southeastern Europe.

The confirmation of that today is the intensive normalization of relations with the increasing number of countries from all over the world. One should also mention the fact that there are increasingly frequent and self-critical assessments in certain influential countries regarding their role in, and I would also say their responsibility for breaking up the former Yugoslavia. The need for the soonest possible normalization of our status in the United Nations, the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe], the IMF, and the World Bank is being increasingly realized.

I would say that this especially refers to the OSCE, where it is being realized that some important issues that are of interest for the stability and security in the Balkans and Europe—it is often [words indistinct] from Europe, I think this is not the case and I believe that the Balkans, thanks to all its qualities, will live to one day be called Europe itself—where it is being realized that these issues cannot be solved successfully without our participation and without our contribution.

Let us try to sum up all this with one sentence, to sum it up briefly. Before us is the road of further stabilization of the FRY's position in the international community, and, I would say, the path toward the complete return of the FRY, whose sovereignty and state legal continuity are no longer disputable, toward our complete return to the international institutions and forums from which we were suspended for well-known reasons.

The recognition of such a policy and the role of our country are today coming even from those countries and those factors that at one time led the way in demonizing our country, those who had the main say in the demands for our country's isolation and punishment.

You have observed correctly that the policy of dialogue and, I hope, the peaceful political settlement of contentious issues represent our state and national interest, as far as the FRY is concerned.

We have always proceeded from the real factual situation. Our country has such comparative advantages and potential that very few European countries of similar size have. I am primarily referring to our geostrategic position as the shortest link between Europe and the Near East, and I would also say between the south and the north. Then I am referring to the economic resources, the level of technological development, self-sufficiency of food and energy. There is no reason why this should not also apply to the internal political and social stability that we have managed to preserve under the conditions of the most severe sanctions, despite the wishes of many to see a different situation. One should also mention here the (?skill) of our people and the quality of our men.

All these potentials, I am convinced, will not be usable and will constitute dead capital, or better said dead capitals, if there is no lasting peace and stability in this region and further afield in Europe.

We therefore need peace. Peace is necessary for us to get moving and use our developmental potential, to secure a higher standard of living, and a better and more secure future for all our citizens, and, of course, to protect better and more efficaciously the legitimate rights of the Serb people in the territory of the previous Yugoslavia.

I would like to take this opportunity to say again that the preservation of peace was our strategic option since the beginning of the crisis, and it will remain so. It will be our main [word indistinct]. Naturally, the lasting and stable peace cannot be achieved without the cooperation and without [word indistinct] support of the international community as a whole, [word indistinct] when we know that its role has not always been the most positive one. On the contrary, the mistakes that had been made, the partial and protective attitude toward the republics that seceded and toward their leaders, on the one side, and the punishment and the demonization of Yugoslavia and the Serb people, on the other, had certainly directly stirred up the crisis and precipitated the civil war.

With the Dayton and Erdut agreements the international community had for the first time, and I am sure this was the first time since the crisis broke out, started to apply the principles of equal treatment of all sides, and

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has confirmed the legitimacy, interests, and rights of the Serb people living outside the FRY.

The result of this is the recognition of the Serb Republic as one of the two state entities in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I personally believe that the international community has deep and sincere interest in preserving the peace process and seeing lasting stability in our region. Without that there is neither peace nor stability in Europe.

This is also confirmed by numerous high- and top-level meetings that had taken place after Dayton, such as the Paris Conference, the conferences in London, Bonn, Rome, Geneva, and I think Moscow were the last in, I hope, the first round of negotiations. At these meetings the international community has demonstrated the resolve to bring the peace process to a successful conclusion. This is good and generally useful for the region as a whole, for us as for the international community as a whole. I am sure of that.

We, on our part, are making exceptionally responsible, I would say crucial, and irreplaceable contributions to these efforts. I must stress that our country is the only country that has fully met all the obligations taken on in Dayton. We are generally satisfied with the results achieved so far. We do not want to downplay the dangers and risks of the still existing obstacles. Whenever I have the opportunity to explain it to the delegations that are visiting Yugoslavia increasingly frequently, which is good, I still call this peace a fragile peace. I hope that we will soon be able to talk about a stable and lasting peace.

The international community has certainly not completely abandoned the policy of double standards. This is why we have constantly been emphasizing the importance of equal treatment of all parties. This refers equally to the distribution of the funds for reconstruction, the punishment of war criminals, the protection of human and property rights, the provision of conditions for the return of refugees and displaced persons, and so forth. I am not going to enumerate everything that is needed to find the final solution to establishing cooperation among the people who used to be on the opposing sides until recently.

This is the only and right precondition for the consolidation of the peace process and establishment of stable peace. I think that without this equality peace will simply not exist, or it will last only a relatively short time. We have been stressing this all the time, as this is the only realistic option. I think this option is good for everyone, an option that will certainly be in the interest of everyone in the long run.

FRY: Firebombings of Milan Consulate Officially Protested

LD1204174096 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1707 GMT 12 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 12 Apr (TANJUG)—At the federal Foreign Ministry today the representative of the Italian embassy in Belgrade was handed a most vigorous protest over the two successive attacks in the past 24 hours on the Yugoslav consulate in Milan, the Foreign Ministry's Information Service announced.

Both attacks were carried out with Molotov cocktails in the early hours of the 11th and 12th April.

The Italian authorities were asked to take urgent and energetic measures to guarantee full security to diplomatic and consular missions of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Italy and to all their employees, in accordance with the Vienna Conventions on Diplomatic and Consular Relations.

Italy was also asked to immediately carry out an investigation and punish the perpetrators of the terrorist attacks.

An identical protest was lodged by the Yugoslav embassy in Rome to the Italian Foreign Ministry.

FRY: Denmark Recognizes Yugoslav Federation

LD1204165896 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1505 GMT 12 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Copenhagen, 12 Apr (TANJUG)—The Kingdom of Denmark today recognized the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the FRY embassy in Copenhagen announced.

A statement issued by the Danish Foreign Ministry said that the decision was reached "in the light of the implementation of the peace agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina of 14 December 1995, and the mutual recognition between Belgrade and Skopje of 8 April 1996."

The statement on the decision was this afternoon handed by Kirsten Biering, department head at the Danish Foreign Ministry, to Yugoslav Charge d'Affaires Vladan Skoric.

FRY: Italy Upgrades Diplomatic Relations to Ambassadorial Level

LD1304182196 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1725 GMT 13 Apr 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Apr 13 (TANJUG)—The Italian Government decided to

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upgrade diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the ambassadorial level and started the procedure for a speedy realization of the decision.

A representative of the Italian Embassy in Belgrade informed the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry about the decision on Saturday.

The Italian Government welcomed the April 8 agreement on the normalization of relations between Yugoslavia and the Republic of Macedonia, the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry said in a statement.

The Italian Government said that all conditions were thus created for a full normalization of the Italian-Yugoslav relations.

FRY: Yugoslav Officer Jailed for Spying for Croatia

LD1304152496 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1426 GMT 13 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 13 Apr (SRNA)—Yugoslav Army Captain Zeljko Draskovic has been sentenced to seven years in prison for spying for Croatia, today's POLITIKA EXPRESS reports.

Draskovic gave a detailed account of how he was recruited and how he forwarded classified information on the Yugoslav Army to the Croatian intelligence service.

The paper also reports on Captain Zoran Lazovic's suicide, saying that the Croatian intelligence service tried to recruit him through his wife Dubravka, who herself was recently sentenced to eight months imprisonment for spying.

Another three officers and two civilians employed in military institutions were sentenced in Belgrade in January from 2 to 15 years in prison for spying on behalf of Croatia.

FRY: Republic Donates $10 Million to Bosnia Reconstruction

LD1304150296 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1248 GMT 13 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated] Brussels, 13 Apr (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will donate $10 million to the 1996 program for the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Nikola Cicanovic, deputy foreign minister and head of the Yugoslav delegation at the donors' conference, said today that this sum will be delivered in goods, building material, and equipment, as well as services as Yugoslavia's participation in projects for the reconstruction throughout the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is in both entities.

In today's address to the conference participants, Cicanovic underscored Yugoslavia's principled position that reconstruction work should be carried out on the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was also accepted—with a few exceptions—by the majority of today's speakers.

This approach, Cicanovic said, will ensure better interconnection not only within Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also in the region, which the European Union views as an economic whole, and which it wishes to treat as such. [passage omitted]

FRY: Chinese Businessmen Visit Serbian Arms Industry

LD1204120696 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1122 GMT 12 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Kragujevac, 12 Apr (TANJUG)—A group of Chinese businessmen from the Norico company, headed by company Vice President Zhang Wi Min, visited Kragujevac [central Serbia] today and held talks on cooperation with Zastava directors.

A presentation of Zastava's three basic production programs—weapons, cars, and trucks—was organized for the Chinese guests, and after the talks, they inspected a display of finished products.

"There are many possibilities for cooperation and realization depends on both sides," Zastava President Srboljub Vasovic said. "We want to be present in all parts of the world wherever possible, in friendly China in particular," he added.

FRY: Avramovic Criticizes Government Policy

AU1204151896 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 10 Apr 96 pp 4-5

[Report by Milan Rodic on a statement made by Dragoslav Avramovic, president of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, at a news conference last week and reaction in an interview by D.S. with Serbian Finance Minister Dusan Vlatkovic; place and date of interview not given: "The Destiny of National Bank President Avramovic—The Destiny of Yugoslavia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "I cannot sign the things that Momir Pavlicevic, the vice president of the Serbian Chamber of Commerce, requires from me. He says that I am responsible both as the National Bank of Yugoslavia president and as the creator of economic policy," Dragoslav Avramovic said in response to a

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request to authorize the printing of more dinars. He said that he had learned from previous experience that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia could not prosper without a healthy currency, since it would lead to a new outflow of capital if the National Bank of Yugoslavia gave in on monetary policy. "If we succeed in regulating our relations with the IMF and the World Bank, we could get loans from the central banks of some large countries to overcome our difficulties, and I cannot print money without such an injection from abroad," Avramovic insisted.

"I simply cannot. Someone else can come and print money, but not me. We went through all that in 1993, which was an absolute catastrophe, and neither our economy nor our citizens feel like making a new experiment of that sort, regardless of the rumors circulating around the Serbian Chamber of Commerce," Avramovic continued. "We shall now have a firm currency again and I hope that we shall have it for ever, otherwise we are lost. Therefore I shall be brutal in reducing loans, unless we realize that it is sensible to use means from abroad, which we can have, since our hard-currency reserves have been falling over the last month because of the growing imports, while exports are weak because of the lack of working capital. If I get the reserves that are still blocked in accounts abroad or funds from the IMF and the World Bank, our hard currency situation will improve and I will not be forced to go into deflation. Otherwise, I shall be forced to go into deflation, regardless of what Minister Ivko Djonovic says. There is no other solution," Avramovic said.

Avramovic added that, immediately after returning from Paris, he had submitted a report to the Federal Government on the negotiations with the IMF, the World Bank, and the International Financial Corporation and that he had recommended that Prime Minister Radoje Kontic "immediately agree to the IMF offer."

"We shall see what the government will decide and it is now up to the IMF to decide. It remains to be seen whether the IMF will give a positive answer to the invitation for a delegation to come to Belgrade and resume talks or whether it will explain the existing differences between their attitude and the attitude of the Federal Government in writing. A decision on what to do cannot be made until we have that," Avramovic said, commenting on a possible scenario on future negotiations on normalizing relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the IMF. "In the meantime Ivko Djonovic, Dragan Tomic, and the rest must wait since I will not print money for loans," Avramovic said.

According to Avramovic, the negotiations with the IMF and the World Bank held in Paris at the beginning of April could have been completed there successfully, but everything "came to a standstill because of the legal formulation of whether the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was entitled to inherit IMF membership on the basis of succession or should become a member on the same basis as Macedonia [The Former Yugosla Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina." Part of the Yugoslav delegation sent to Paris by the Federal Government did not agree to the formula offered by the IMF and even urged that the talks be postponed. Telegrams were exchanged between Avramovic and the Federal Government between Paris and Belgrade all night long and, when they received the instruction from Kontic's office, the IMF representatives became confused and Avramovic had, as he put it, a shock. It was assumed that the controversial issue of succession had already been solved in 1992 when the then Yugoslav Government agreed to the quota of 36.5 percent of the former Yugoslav quota, so that in Avramovic's opinion the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had scored an "own goal."

"We could have signed everything that the IMF required. In that case, an IMF delegation would have come to the Montenegrin coast in two weeks to decide on hotel repairs, which is of the utmost importance for the coming holiday season," the National Bank President said. Explaining how the 14-member Yugoslav delegation, composed of the representatives of the National Bank of Yugoslavia and the Federal Government, functioned, Avramovic said:

"I do not know how to express it without putting myself in an even more awkward situation than now. In any case, it was very complicated; part of the delegation was obviously operating according to their own instructions and the first proposal, which was made by that part of the delegation, was that the legal issue regarding the status of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the IMF should not be solved in Paris but rather postponed."

The Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS] responded to this with a statement that Vladan Kutlesic, a member of the delegation appointed by Kontic's government, had been sent to Paris effectively to "spy on" Avramovic. In addition, the DSS recalled that Kutlesic was an adviser to the Serbian president. According to Avramovic, he is also a member of the Group for Succession, but he was not given an finance expert from Kontic's office, although he requested that just such an expert should be a team member.

"The proposal that the negotiations be postponed was a shock for me because we need money and not

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postponements. Attitudes on the succession issue differ, however, and there are people who are exceptionally sensitive to the phrase even now in the post-Dayton period. There are people who think that this is the central issue and God should help them, since our main problem lies in domestic production. Such attitudes only mean that things will be postponed at a time when there is no time for postponements. We were exceptionally lucky in stabilizing the currency and this is the most wonderful thing that could have happened to us, so that postponing negotiations with the IMF and the World Bank causes a dreadful burden. If there is no opening up to the world, where are we supposed to get the money to finance the sowing, our export industries, and tourism? I shall be forced to halt all loans from both the National Bank and the commercial banks in order to maintain the value of the currency since this is my duty according to the law. The value of the dinar is something that affects everybody, and granting of loans, although very important, favors only certain manufacturers or agriculture; they go to Simpo, Yumko, or some other company, but if I am the one to decide, I shall halt the loans. This need not happen, however, if the government decides to proceed with talks with the IMF instead of blocking them," Avramovic explained, pointing out that "it is working capital that is badly needed now; otherwise Minister Djonovic will hang me."

The National Bank president warned that it could lead to an unfavorable outcome if the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia remains stubborn over its attitude toward succession.

The alternative to the IMF formula is for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to reapply for membership, in which case we might even obtain a smaller quota than what is being offered us now, since the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is economically less powerful today than certain other parts of the former Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, Macedonia and Slovenia, for example. I therefore proposed that the Federal Government agree to everything right away. If we are ultimately forced to reapply for membership of the IMF, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will have the complete Islamic bloc against it and things might become complicated. Whether we like it or not, the IMF represents the present capitalist world and only that world has the money. Until we are given the green light from the IMF, there will be no access to the international capital market. If we get the green light and keep our promises, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia could become a prosperous country in three years. This depends on our internal organization, however. We shall not get anything from anybody if we continue to define the budgets, one of which is based on the prognosis that the social product will rise by 12.5 percent, another 19 percent, and a third 25 percent."

The National Bank president is still convinced that the ambiguities could be removed in half an hour, but he is not sure whether this is very likely. Everything depends on the Federal Government, Avramovic claims, with the reservation that it does not mean that Prime Minister Kontic is the one who should be persuaded. It is indicative that Montenegrin representatives provided the aircraft on which Avramovic returned from Paris, although he was the head of the Yugoslav delegation there. Nor can the specific political significance of the dinner that the National Bank president was offered by Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic and Milo Djukanovic after landing in Podgorica be neglected in this "Rashomon" [Japanese film].

Describing the atmosphere within the Yugoslav delegation in Paris with the words "at least it did not end up in a fight," Avramovic stated that the Federal Government's position was "totally irresponsible." "There is one policy view that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should agree to pay not only its debts to the IMF and the World Bank, but also all the other old Yugoslav debts, which it would then get back from the others. Probably so as to secure the succession, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is offering to pay the entire $16 billion and then it will probably chase up Macedonia, Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia for their debts. This is totally irresponsible!" Explaining how it reached the controversial statement issued by the Federal Information Secretariat that there was no disagreement between Avramovic and the Federal Government and that the National Bank president had travelled to Paris to present the government's position, Avramovic said that he had been confused by that statement himself "since it is not true." Therefore he told the head of his office to obtain the minutes of the controversial meeting at the Palace of the Federation from 1600 to 2200 hours on 25 March. From the Federal Government, that is, from the head of Kontic's office, there came the answer that the meeting had not been minuted, so there were no minutes, since it had allegedly been a meeting of a group whose meetings are not recorded. It is, however, significant that it was not mentioned in the official statement that it was a meeting of a working group, but rather it was referred to as a meeting "within the Federal Government." Thus Avramovic pointed out that only the minutes could "show who is right and who is wrong."

TELEGRAF has learned from well-informed sources that in the controversial meeting Avramovic did not accept the Federal Government policy and that the he was given permission to represent his attitudes in Paris. Later the government obviously changed its mind.

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which resulted in nightly contacts through telegrams and even an official telephone call from Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic to Avramovic, in which the proposal was made about the postponement of talks and the invitation for an IMF delegation to resume talks in Belgrade.

Although this conflict is getting increasingly heated, it is clear that Avramovic does not intend to resign.

"The priority in my work as long as I hold this position, assuming that we come to our senses and solve the succession problem, is to regulate relations with the IMF and the World Bank as soon as possible, not to pay them what we owe them, but to get the working capital and the money to support our reserves from them. My first task is to arrange this and the second, equally important, is the privatization plan as part of 'Program 2,'" Avramovic explained.

The National Bank president assessed that public and large socially owned companies were principally responsible for the increase in prices.

"There are increasing numbers of corruption cases. Managers of large corporations own private companies at the same time. Analyses show that the turnover of public and socially owned corporations goes through private companies, so that the profits end up in private pockets, which means that the social capital is melting away in that way," Avramovic said, pointing out that he had asked about the money earned from selling wheat "in self-defense, after it was required from me to give 1 billion dinars for sowing."

[Box, p 5]

There Is No Crucial Disagreement With National Bank President Avramovic; We Only Want More Credits for Agriculture and Exports

"I think it is of exceptional importance for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to establish relations with the IMF and the World Bank, since this will enable us to get loans from foreign banks and investors more quickly and easily," Dusan Vlatkovic, the finance minister and a member of the National Bank of Yugoslavia Council, told TELEGRAF on the differences that had arisen during the negotiations with the IMF and World Bank in Paris.

[D.S.] What is at the core of this misunderstanding?

[Vlatkovic] To my knowledge, the Federal Government insists that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia be granted the succession of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia in the IMF and the World Bank without any special conditions attached, while Mr. Avramovic, the National Bank president, considers that the most important thing is for Yugoslavia to be again a member of the IMF and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

[D.S.] What would in your opinion be correct?

[Vlatkovic] That talks should be resumed.

[D.S.] Rumor has it that there are increasing differences in attitudes toward economic policy between Mirko Marjanovic, the Serbian prime minister, and Mr. Avramovic.

[Vlatkovic] I do not think that there are any conceptual differences between the federal and the Serbian prime minister and Mr. Avramovic regarding the basic economic issues: the policy of the realistic exchange rate, issuing money without coverage, relations in public expenditure, and similar issues. The difference lies in the problem that the Serbian Government considers it necessary that the National Bank of Yugoslavia, together with commercial banks, should grant more loans for agriculture and exports out of the assets we currently have.

FRY: Campaign Leading to Soros Fund Shutdown Viewed

96BA0224A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 2 Mar 96 p 12

[Article by Dejan Anastasijevic: "Abolition of Soros Fund: Tudjman Agrees"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The message to the citizens: "No one but us has a right to feed and clothe this nation."*

On 23 February the Serbian Supreme Court revoked the registration of the Soros Fund of Yugoslavia, causing that organization to lose its right to operate in the territory of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]. In this way, only eight days after the takeover of Studio B, an important means of survival for the few islands of liberty in these troubled waters ceased to exist.

A harsh public campaign was waged to declare the foundation's founder, American multimillionaire George Soros, an enemy of all Serbs, and in support of that theory his Jewish origins were frequently emphasized. However, the crowning argument that was used was his signature on one of the petitions seeking the use of military means to obstruct the Serb siege of Sarajevo and other Bosnian cities. At the time, the president of Belgrade University said that George Soros "is seeking the bombing of Belgrade and has lined up with the enemies of this country and nation."

Hidden between the lines of all such charges were two other charges that the authorities rarely expressed

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openly—the first is that the foundation was providing substantial technical assistance to the independent media, which would have a hard time surviving under our quasi-market conditions without that support, and the second and probably more important objection was the foundation's stubborn refusal to distribute abundant humanitarian aid (primarily drugs and medical equipment) by way of state institutions. This "uncooperativeness," guided by the justified fear that leaving distribution up to the state could mean that a large share of the drugs would end up in private pharmacies or on the black market, directly threatened the financial interests of certain very powerful people, who, besides holding high-ranking positions in the Ministry of Health, for example, also control a large share of the gray market in drugs. There are enormous interests and enormous amounts of money at stake here; last year alone, for example, the foundation distributed, free of charge, drugs and equipment valued at around $5 million, which directly affected the price of drugs on the gray market.

The first victims of the Supreme Court decision were representatives of the "Panonija" Humanitarian Society, 12 medical institutions and five factory clinics in Serbia and Montenegro: On 26 February they were supposed to receive from the foundation a significant quantity of drugs, X-ray machines, and other medical equipment. Furthermore, preschoolers at day care and refugee centers lost out on 15,000 toys, 10,000 sets of school supplies, and the same number of pairs of shoes. Eight artists colonies and 70 science and technology projects will be terminated, and around 500 scientists, students, and specialists will not receive stipends. This list is incomplete, but the message that the state wants to send to its citizens is clear: "No one but us has a right to feed and clothe this nation."

All the opposition parties (from the Radicals to the Civic Alliance) have sharply condemned the ban on the foundation's work. An arrogant response has come from ruling circles: "Political parties should not concern themselves with court decisions, especially from the Supreme Court, but should instead work on resolving the vital issues of the citizens," (Aleksandar Vulin, JUL [Yugoslav United Left] spokesman). At the same time, Montenegrin Minister of Information Bozidar Jaredic announced that "foundations like Soros's are neither necessary nor welcome" because it is suspected of pursuing "a policy with certain goals." The U.S. State Department has also chimed in, with a statement by a spokesman directly blaming the Serbian president for this decision: "Mr. Milosevic must realize that he is not acting in a vacuum when he makes such decisions," said Glenn Davis, White House press secretary, who then warned that "such moves could influence the FRY's admission to international institutions."

Representatives of the foundation will reveal their position and any further plans at a press conference on Thursday, 29 February, when this issue of VREME will be on the newsstands. In the meantime, a public announcement has been drafted noting, among other things, that there are 23 Soros Foundations throughout the world from Kyrgyzstan to Haiti. "Some of them have been subjected to occasional criticism, but none has been legally abolished except in Yugoslavia."

It is very possible that something similar is happening in Croatia, where President Franjo Tudjman told Soros to his face that "he could find a better way to use his money than helping Croatian traitors." This is another fine example of coordinated action by authorities in Belgrade and Zagreb on a joint project—to threaten the vital interests of their own citizens.

Serbia

Serbia: 'Voluntary' Refugee Census To Begin 15 Apr

AU1204205096 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 12 Apr 96

[Report by Ljubisav Aleksic]

[FBIS Translated Text] On the basis of the decision made by the Government of the Republic of Serbia, the Commissariat for Refugees of the Republic of Serbia, together with the UN High Commissariat for Refugees, will be conducting a census of all persons who were forced to leave their former residence and come to Serbia because of the war in the former Yugoslavia. The census of refugees and expellees will begin on 15 April and last until 31 May. It will include all people who have been in Serbia from March 1990 until the end of the war.

The census is voluntary and is exclusively in the refugees' interest. It will include questions on crucial information for further aid that our country and the United Nations will provide for refugees in realizing their future plans. This applies to questions on local integration as well as their voluntary return. Without the census no one will be able to individually solve old or possible future disputes, including questions on status in general. This means that until the problems of registered people are solved, the problems of those who are not registered cannot be solved.

People entitled to register for the census include those who have regulated refugee status or whose status is in process, people who have the regulated status of

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expellee or whose status is in process, people who resided in one of the former republics and when the war started were in Serbia for schooling, hospitalization, work, vacation, or business trip, so their status in the FRY has so far in no way been regulated.

Also able to participate are people whose refugee status expired for any reason due to a commissariat decision, but they have not left Serbia so far; people who are in Serbia but did not want to register in order to avoid military service or for other reasons; and those people who fled to Serbia from the Serb Republic after the territories became part of the Muslim-Croat Federation after 5 August 1995.

The census is open to all people who are of the opinion that they have not been covered by the said categories.

The timeframe for the census has been set by the High Commissariat and will not be extended. Both commissariats point out that this census will not change a refugee's legal status; it will be used to register and legally regulate refugee problems in the future.

Serbia: Refugees From FRY Republics To Be Registered

LD1404183196 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1711 GMT 14 Apr 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, April 14 (TANJUG)—All refugees who changed their place of residence since the outbreak of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, now living in Serbia, will be registered from April 15 to May 3.

The registration will show for the first time the real number of refugees and reasons why they decided to settle in the Yugoslav republic. It is organised jointly by the Serbian Commissariat for Refugees and the U.N. High Commissioner's Office for Refugees.

The questionnaire comprises two leaflets which cover all refugees who arrived in Serbia after 1990, at the beginning of the process of the forcible secession of some republics from the former Yugoslav Federation.

The refugees will fill both leaflets with personal and family data (profession, state of health, employment, education) and place of residence.

Answer to the question on nationality is optional because under Article 49 of Serbia's Constitution it is not obligatory to state your nationality.

One of the most important questions is the one related to future plans of the refugees.

Refugees can chose to return to their former place of residence, to some other area in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, to stay in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, can list a fourth solution or circle the answer 'I don't know.' This decision is not binding and does not mean that refugees cannot later change their minds and wishes.

The registration material will be treated as election material, meaning no questionnaires will be destroyed or cancelled, they can only be declared invalid, meaning they were not correctly filled out.

This was done to avoid possible manipulation because the only aim of the operation is to provide precise information on the number of persons who took refuge in Serbia since the outbreak of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

Serbia: Minister Calls Kosovo Inalienable Part of Serbia

LD1304134896 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1337 GMT 13 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pristina, Apr 13 (TANJUG)—An independent and neutral Kosovo, as advocated by ethnic Albanian leaders, is merely a contrived formulation concealing the old nationalist and secessionist aim—the creation of a 'Greater Albania.'

Yugoslav Interior Minsiter Vukasin Jokanovic on Saturday told Radio Pristina that the Province of Kosovo and Metohija was an inalienable part of serbia, where all citizens should exercise their human rights.

Jokanovic said that Yugoslavia would defend its territorial integrity as any other state.

A strong separatist movement has for years been active among ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, calling for its secession and possible annexation to neighboring Albania.

Serbia established authority throughout its territory, including Kosovo and Metohija, by the constitutional amendments of 1989.

'Secessionist ethnic-Albanian leaders, who are devising new formulations, are prisoners of promises to their fellow-countrymen, and it would be better if they told them the truth, that it is impossible to sever Kosovo from Serbia, instead of deluding them and offering false promises,' said Jokanovic.

Speaking about those who call for the return of the constitution of 1974, Jokanovic said the constitutional changes were made legally and without any pressure, and that they had averted war in Kosovo.

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He said fear of majorization among the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo was understandable as it brought back the past with the various forms of pressure, persecution and migration. Therefore it is necessary to build mechanisms that develop democracy in Serbia, and prevent majorization, said Jokanovic.

Serbia: Belgrade Accused of Violations in Kosovo

AU1204174796 Paris AFP in English 1555 GMT 12 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vienna, April 12 (AFP)—Serbian police are continuing to subject Kosovo Albanians to "ethnically-based apartheid" in the southern Serbian province, despite Belgrade's rehabilitation into the world community, a human rights body said Friday [12 April].

Widespread police abuse included torture and killings of peaceful demonstrators and other unarmed civilians, the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights said in a statement released here.

Over 3,600 cases of "arbitrary arrest of Albanians" by Serbian police were recorded during 1995, over 600 more than the previous year, the body said.

The human rights group said it had recorded 2,666 reported cases of "severe mistreatment and torture in Serbian police custody" in 1995.

The group took the European Union to task over its full "normalisation of relations" with Yugoslavia, now Serbia and Montenegro.

The facts clearly demonstrated that the human rights requirements of the recognition had not been met, the group said.

It urged EU and Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) member states "to consider the current state of human rights for Kosovo Albanians who continue to live under repression that is utterly at variance with European and OSCE standards."

The fallout from the Bosnian conflict continues to hit Kosovo Albanians, the body said.

"Serbian authorities have continued policies of resettlement amounting to 'colonisation' including the forced settlement of Krajina Serbs, and associated forced evictions of Albanians," the statement said. "Since 1992, over 500 Albanian families have been forcibly evicted."

The Helsinki Federation is a non-governmental organisation which monitors compliance with the human rights provisions of east-west accords signed in Helsinki in 1975. It was originally set up to defend the rights of Soviet and east European dissidents.

Serbia: Authorities Said To Harass NASA BORBA Vendor

AU1304161196 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6-7 Apr 96 p 1

[Unattributed report: "'Stampa's' Newsstands Undesirable in New Belgrade"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—A New Belgrade municipal inspection yesterday removed from the territory of this municipality three newsstands belonging to a socially owned newspaper and magazine distributing company "Stampa." Reacting to the objection by the "Stampa" workers that the inspection did not have the right to impound the goods in the newsstands, considering that the newsstands had the necessary documents, they were told that it would be "better if they went to their newsstand near 'Fontana' and removed the goods before they get impounded." The Opstina municipality has announced that other newsstands—a total of eight—of this New Belgrade vendor face a similar fate. The municipal authorities did not issue a permit to "Stampa" to use provisional premises this year. Immediately after the removal of the "Stampa" newsstand, a newsstand belonging to "Duvan" was put in the same place.

"Stampa" is the only company that sells NASA BORBA and it could happen very soon that the people in New Belgrade will only be able to buy the paper from the street sellers.

Serbia: Foreign Funding of Independent Media Described

AU1204081896 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Apr 96 p 9

[Report on interview with Nebojsa Vukovic, director of the independent news agency TIKER, by Tatjana Jeremic; place and date not given: "I Am a Dangerous Witness"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the beginning of our talk about the ways of financing independent media, Nebojsa Vukovic, director of TIKER, the first independent news agency in the Balkans, says about himself: "In that whole story, I am a dangerous witness."

The story starts at the end of 1994, at a meeting of representatives of our independent media with John White, coordinator of the European Union. "The discussion was about the financial help which was to be awarded to the media. TIKER did not get any money," said Vukovic.

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To our question why, he says: "I believe because I insisted on Mr. White telling us what the criteria for awarding the money were. I also said that TIKER covered itself 100 percent, and that we did not wish to be maintained, but helped. I was clear. Even if you give me financial funding, I will not take it unless you tell me the criteria for awarding it."

Money Without Origin

When we asked him to comment on the selectiveness in the financing of media, Vukovic answered: "Somebody was lobbied. The people from the European Union gave definite evaluations. Which means that somebody had suggested things to them."

Nebojsa Vuckovic is also one of the founders of the Independent Journalists Association of Serbia [NUNS], and its first president. He resigned for—as he stated on that occasion—11 reasons.

"I resigned because the origin of the money which came from abroad was not known. It was not known who controlled the account of the fund for journalists' solidarity in Luxembourg or the safe in Jugobanka [bank]. I claim that there is an account in Luxembourg in the Banion Bank [name as published]. That is now impossible to establish because nobody gives any documentation. However, somebody does go there and brings money. There is no documentation about competitions or about projects so that it is not known how much money was given to whom, nor how much money was requested. One of the reasons for my resignation is that the association existed and functioned without a current account for 14 months."

To our question who brought money from abroad, Vukanovic answered: "Money was brought in cash by Hari Stajner. He handed it over to Gordana Logar and to Veran Matic (editor in chief of B-92), which is one of the proofs that the European Union helps independent media very disproportionately."

The Rich and the Poor

To the remark that journalists from the independent media usually complain about small salaries, Vukovic replied: "There are no independent media in Serbia. Only some journalists have high salaries. There is no middle class in such 'independent media'—there are only extremely rich and extremely poor people. I claim that in 1993 alone one editor of VREME traveled abroad 50 times."

Vukovic also used to travel to meetings abroad. He says that the daily fees were between 100 and 200 German marks.

"I remember that at the airport in Paris French journalists asked me how many times I had been arrested and beaten by Milosevic's regime. When I said never, they were disappointed," Vukovic says, adding that, when he resigned from the post of the president of NUNS, he wrote an open letter which none of the independent media published.

"Only POLITIKA, BORBA, and POLITIKA EKSPRES called me. None of the independents responded. I even accused specific people about specific money, but no one reacted."

As for the selectiveness in the choice of media to be financed by foreigners, Vukovic says:

Key Link

"Those are always marginal houses. The European Union puts aside money from its budget and gives it to certain people here. I can go on telling you about financing for five days and always, whenever it comes to that, I will mention the same six names, the same lobby."

To the question if he knows about the conditions of the contracts between independent media and the financiers, he says: "In all those contracts about donation there is the clause which explains why it is help and not funds which will not be returned. That is the key link. The money is given as help as long as the editorial policy suits the investor. In case it changes, the funds must be returned."

The initiator of the founding of NUNS says about his motives for this attitude towards his colleagues: "I am not trying to ruin them. I was a participant in that story. I was and I will always be committed to the freedom of expression but only under the condition that rules are known. I believe that I was manipulated because I was not told that money would be given in cash and not through a current account. My agency is independent from the state, but it is also independent from the U.S. Embassy. B-92 can be heard in two streets only, but it is important that it can be heard in the U.S. Embassy. Ask those people who get money from abroad if they dare publish news which John White would not like. Why do they not publish the text of my resignation?"

Talking about the privileges which the "chosen journalists" have had, he says: "Veran Matic got a flat in Takovska Street from the Serbian Renewal Movement, which also refurbished the flat for him."

To the question what was given to him, Vukovic answers: "In 1990 I asked Soros for a fax machine, a printer, and a computer, and I got them. That is all."

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Serbia: JUL Official on Plans for New Television Station

AU1504140296 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Apr 96 p 13

[Article by M. Djordjevic: "The Image That Will Promote Tolerance"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The new television station under the name of Yugoslav Radio Television [JRT] will begin broadcasting via satellite and locally on 1 July of this year. Ljubisa Ristic, president of the Yugoslav Left's [JUL] Executive Council and director of the KPGT [Kazaliste-Pozoriste-Gledalisce-Teatar] theater, said that the program will be broadcast from the Cultural Information Center on 11, Nikola Pasic Square; the center will also house the Museum of the Revolution.

We are working on changing the museum's concept; it should become a multimedia center, where an electronic audio and video system, as a type of high technology museum, will replace the museum's classic setup. It will be possible to change the museum's entire setup on a daily basis by changing the software, audio, and video material with the accompanying use of screens, displays, holographs, lasers.... Therefore, the Federal Government has designated the building for reconstruction, it is currently being designed, and construction will take place over the next year, while the television will start broadcasting from the basement, Ristic explained.

Eight Hours of Programs To Start With

According to Ristic, the JRT will be an independent media source that will not give advantage to any political party. It will focus on integrating the information space in cooperation with all other media and will use the satellite to promote everything that appears in other sources as a contribution to a multicultural and Yugoslav information concept.

The JRT will cover all areas covered by a radio television station. The basic program concept is the promotion of the Yugoslav way of life, irrespective of whether it involves culture, entertainment, sports, or politics. The goal is to provide the viewers with objective, modern, and timely information. Two separate programs will be broadcast daily from the basement of the Museum of the Revolution—one for satellite and another for local television. The radio program will be primarily aimed at listeners abroad and broadcast via satellite. Therefore, the program will be available throughout Europe, Ljubisa Ristic said.

We still need to agree on the modes of domestic broadcasting, which means that gradually, by the end of the year, the entire area of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] and the general region will be covered. The satellite program is scheduled to start on 1 July with eight hours of television and 24 hours of radio programs. In the beginning, local television will also have eight hours of programs and will be partially available in various FRY regions. The program will later be expanded to 24 hours throughout the country. According to Ristic, a chief editor has not been appointed yet. All personnel issues are to be tackled in May, and Radio Television Serbia, Radio Television Montenegro, and other media sources are expected to be of great assistance.

Self-Financing

Regarding the television's financing, Ristic explained that KPGT has formed a consortium that will buy time on the satellite on the basis of an annual contract for 24 hours on Eutelsat 2. Since in the beginning the JRT will only use a part of the time for broadcasting, the remainder will be sold on the basis of an annual contract to another consortium that will finance the television's overall work.

The state is not setting up any funds, which means that the only means of financing will be self-financing. Long-term financing has been established through commercial use of the satellite and the program itself, Ristic explained.

The purpose of the launch of JRT is to help develop the Yugoslav information and culture domains.

I believe that this is the year to work on strengthening the federal state in order to change our country's image worldwide, as all diplomatic efforts will be in vain if we fail in the information realm. This does not pertain solely to our activity abroad but also st home. Activities should be aimed at creating an atmosphere of tolerance and solidarity, keeping in mind the national, ideological, and cultural differences that constitute the rich and versatile quality of our everyday existence, which, unfortunately, has, hitherto, far too frequently been the source of conflict, Ljubisa Ristic said.

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